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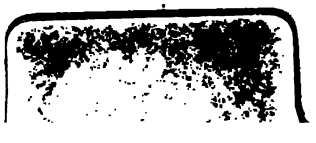

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL. D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXXI. NOS. FOR JUNE AND SEPTEMBER, 1875.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.
1875.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1875, by
EDWARD I. SEARS,
in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

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5. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, vols. iv., vii., viii.

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IT is a remarkable feature in the history of most religions, that, while in regions remote from their birthplace they take root and flourish, the soil which proves least calculated to sustain them is that in which they originally germinated. Christianity, the recognized faith of Europe and America, is known

in Asia chiefly through missionaries from those continents. In many regions the doctrines of Mahomet command more reverence than in his native Arabia. But nowhere is this peculiarity so strikingly exemplified as in the history of Buddhism. Originating in, and for a long period limited to, the regions on the banks of the Ganges, it at present overspreads the whole of Central Asia, and enrolls among its followers one-third of the human race. Its strongholds are regions little akin to the country of its birth, and its votaries races most widely differing in origin, in language, in habits of life, and modes of thought, from the nation of its first apostle—races, moreover, whose exclusiveness, whose conservatism, whose obstinate resistance to every external influence, would have seemed to present a hopeless barrier to the introduction of a religion of foreign birth.

In China, not only has Buddhism become one of the three great religions of the land, but even the opposing sects have learned to acknowledge its influence. The most thorough-paced Confucianist goes through Buddhistic ceremonies on the occasion of weddings or funerals, or in cases of illness, epidemic, or drought.* The Taouists have so incorporated the doctrines of Buddha with their own, that of the ancient religion of Taou little remains except the name. But the vast majority of the Chinese are neither Confucians nor Taouists, but Buddhists, pure and simple. In Japan they worship the thousand-handed Kwannon, who is identical with Kwan-yin, the Chinese Goddess of Mercy, and the companion of Amitâbha Buddha. In Corea the doctrines of Buddha are recognized. In Thibet the grand lama is the sovereign, temporal and spiritual, and Buddhism is the established religion. In Mongolia and Mantchuria the Buddhist monasteries are actual towns, and every third man is a priest of Buddha. Even the Kalmyks of the Volga and the Burjads on the Baikal Sea are votaries of the same religion.

But in Ceylon, Burmah, and the kingdom of Siam, we find

* Eitel, p. 27.

it retaining but a partial foothold ; while in India, its cradle, the birthplace of its founder, and the fountain whence emanated its essential doctrines, it has become a thing of the past. Rock-temples and ruins are the sole traces of its existence, if we except the insignificant sect of Joinus, who have wandered so far from their original faith that its influence is hardly recognizable among them.*

Not less remarkable are the changes which the character of the religion has itself undergone. In its early days a system of exclusively moral asceticism, whose doctrines were few and simple, whose teachings were of morality, temperance, and charity, which took little heed of theology or philosophy, and recognized no Deity or object of worship, it has expanded into a system of polytheism the most vast, superstitions the most absorbing, and philosophy the most extended—a system which "embodies in one living structure grand and peculiar views of physical science, refined and subtle theorems on abstract metaphysics, an edifice of fanciful mysticism, a most elaborate and far-reaching system of practical morality, and, finally, a church organization as broad in its principles and as finely wrought in its most intricate network as any in the world." †

That Buddhism arose in India and had its origin in the city of Benares, is a fact so universally recognized by Buddhists of all countries, that it may be received as a matter of historical certainty. That its founder was Shâkyamuni Gaûtama Buddha is admitted with equal unanimity, but as to the periods of his birth and death there has been great discussion, some placing it at a period as remote as one thousand years before Christ. Lately discovered chronicles, inscriptions, and coins, however, indicate the year 543 B. C. as the date of his death ; and this is accordingly the date generally received among European scholars.

From the peculiarly imaginative nature of the Hindoo, it is not surprising that the history of Shâkyamuni Gaûtama

* Ward, vol. ii., p. 210. † Eitel, p. 1.

Buddha should be involved in so dense a cloud of fable that it becomes difficult to extract therefrom the real facts of his life. All that we can predicate of him with any certainty is that, claiming to be of royal descent, he became dissatisfied with Brahminism, in which faith he was reared, and disgusted with the world from experiences in his own harem. At first he sought peace of mind in a wandering and ascetic life; but eventually renouncing caste, and repudiating all received doctrines, he appeared as the founder of a new system,* whose principles were voluntary poverty and celibacy, the relinquishment of caste and property, the non existence of a Deity, and the belief in a Nirvâna, into which the soul, after undergoing a series of transmigrations according as it had done well or ill in each previous state of existence, would be ultimately absorbed.† One secret of the rapid spread of this religion lay, no doubt, in the founder's spirit of universal toleration and eclecticism, which induced him to study all religions and every form of superstition, to adopt into his own creed whatever was valuable in itself and appealed to the sympathies of his followers, and to concede to his disciples such a latitude of belief that it was difficult to draw a line by which any class should be absolutely excluded.

Buddha having assigned no place in his religion to a Deity, his disciples, after his decease, were not long in elevating him to that position. Of course the fables connected with his supposed supernatural origin accumulated from generation to generation,‡ until they became a vast mass of incoherent

* It is, by some, claimed that Buddha simply revived the ancient religion of India, held prior to the Brahminical superstition, and even to the Aryan immigration.

† Ward, vol. ii., p. 212.

‡ According to the Jatu of King Témee, in which is embodied the mythology of the Burman Buddhists, Buddha was formerly a mortal, and reigned twenty years in Varanusee. After death he fell into Ooshnudu-Niraigu, the Burmese hell, in which he was punished eighty thousand years; he was then re-born in Taintingsu, where he spent his life, and at death was qualified to ascend into the heaven of the gods.

and contradictory matter, in which the most remarkable feature is the manner in which legends and histories of other religions—some of much later date—have been embodied in the Buddhist mythology. More especially has it appropriated the prominent Gospel incidents with such fidelity that infidels have gravely accused the Gospels of being but plagiarisms from the Canons of Buddha.

It is certain that these Canons ascribe to Buddha a prior spiritual existence, an incarnation in the flesh through a virgin of the name of Mâyâ, a heralding by a chorus of angels, a baptism and public recognition by an ancient saint, a fasting and temptation in the wilderness, a visit and homage from wise men of the East, a transfiguration on a mountain, a death and temporary resurrection on earth, a descent into hell, and an ascent into heaven.* These points of resemblance are, however, explained by the fact that for many generations the doctrines of Buddha were handed down orally †—that, as they diffused themselves throughout Asia, they assimilated with the faiths that they found already established, and adopted many of their traditions; and that it was not until A. D. 412—nearly a thousand years after the decease of its founder—that the first Buddhistic Canon was compiled and reduced to writing. It is easy, therefore, to account for the Gospel incidents which, during this period, crept into the Buddhist traditions from intercourse with the Nestorian missionaries, and were ultimately embodied in the Canon.

At the time of the death of Buddha his followers constituted not so much an organized church as a sect of voluntary celibate priests and nuns, who went through the country preaching their peculiar doctrine. By degrees, however, lay brethren and sisters were admitted into the church, and eventually regular monasteries and nunneries were established with an elaborate discipline and ceremonial. For two centuries the sect remained in insignificance, limited in its influence to the borders of the Ganges, and regarded by the Brahmins with contemptuous indifference.

* Eitel, p. 14.

† Bournouf, p. 45.

But about B. C. 325 the invasion of India by Alexander the Great broke up the petty kingdoms into which it was at that time divided, and created a general anarchy. From this revolution arose a new empire which united all India under one sceptre. This empire was founded by an adventurer of low birth, called Tchandragupta by the Brahmins, and Sandrakottos by the Greek historians. Despised by the Brahmins on account of his birth, the emperor resented their contempt by patronizing the Buddhist church. This encouragement was continued by his successor and grandson, Ashôka—otherwise called Piyadasi—who, having himself embraced the Buddhist faith, recognized that church as by law established, and formally acknowledged that from it he held his power and possessions as a fief.* Not content with constituting Buddhism the supreme law of the land, he sent forth missions to all surrounding nations—preachers clad in rags, bearing the alms-bowl in their hands,† but recognized as emissaries of the great Indian emperor. Ceylon, which was visited by the emperor's own son, Mahêndra, as a missionary, was forthwith converted to Buddhism. Cabulistan, Gandhara, Cashmere, and Nepaul, were visited by missionaries with every caravan from India, and Buddhism obtained extensive root in those kingdoms. In B. C. 250, a band of missionaries reached China and laid the foundation of the new religion in that empire.‡

While Buddhism was thus extending its influence over foreign countries, an event occurred in India which led to its overthrow and ultimate extinction in the land of its birth.

The empire of Ashôka was not destined to survive him. On his decease the Brahmins once more obtained supreme

* Eitel, p. 19. E. Bournouf, *passim*.

† "Priests are forbidden to marry—they are to live by mendicancy, and to possess only three garments; a begging-dish, a girdle, a razor, a needle, and a cloth to strain the water which they drink, that they may not devour insects."—Ward, vol. ii., p. 217.

‡ Eitel, p. 20.

power. Under Pushpamitra, in B. C. 178,* the monasteries and pagodas of the Buddhists were laid in ashes, their books destroyed, and themselves driven into exile. But this very dispersion, by driving the Buddhists into Central Asia and Farther India, increased their number, and extended their doctrine in these countries. Shortly after the Christian Era, the Punjaub, Cashmere, and India, were overrun by a branch of the great tribe of Huns. With them, and under their king Kanishka, Buddhism was re-established in India; but the king, undertaking to revise the Canon and establish the innovations which had been introduced by the Buddhists in Central Asia, created a schism which essentially divided the church. In Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam, they adhered with tolerable fidelity to the primitive doctrines. For this reason they remained in the minority, and their faith took little hold on the affections of the people. When India came once more under the dominion of the Brahmins, and Buddhism was finally and forever expelled from its shores, its votaries in these regions declined in number and fervency, and at present its doctrines, though still held, are comparatively little reverenced.

Widely different was the case in the regions to the north of Hindostan. The facility with which they adopted popular doctrines and superstitions enabled the northern Buddhists to make converts in every direction. Their chief successes were in Central Asia, where the Tartars, following the lead of Kanishka, almost universally embraced their doctrines. In China their progress was less rapid. The Chinese were at that time divided between the great moral system of Confucius, which was followed by the higher classes, the serpent and tree-worship, which enchained the minds of the ignorant, and Taouism, which, already losing ground as a system of philoso-

* "If, however, the conjectures of Sir William Jones, relative to the inscriptions found on the pillar at Buddal and elsewhere, be well founded, Buddhism must have been the governing power in India as late as the commencement of the Christian Era."—See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 165.

phy, had gradually degenerated into an alliance with the popular superstition. With these last systems the Buddhist missionaries united in opposition to the Confucians. They found powerful allies among the Chinese generals, who, returning from their campaigns in Central Asia, brought wondrous accounts of the effects of Buddhism in those countries, and even introduced their sacred books into the empire. At last an emperor arose whose sympathies were with the Taouists in opposition to the Confucians. He—the Emperor Ming-ti—saw in the new doctrine a means of advancing his favorite system; and by him Buddhism was established as the imperial religion.* Although this official recognition continued but for a time, Buddhism—or, as it is there called, the religion of Fo—obtained thus a foothold in China which it never lost, and is now the most extended and popular religion of the Celestial Empire.

Still more remarkable was the triumph of Buddhism in Thibet. Introduced originally in the fifth century, it did not find many followers until the eighth, when the king, Thisrong-de-tsan, the son of a Chinese princess, and devoted to the faith of his mother, elevated the priesthood into a regular hierarchy, conferring upon them spiritual jurisdiction, extensive landed property, and other peculiar privileges. Under a subsequent king—Lang-Darma—a reaction set in. The Buddhists were driven from their possessions, and an attempt made to exterminate them throughout Thibet. But the persecuting king was assassinated by a Buddhist priest. The spiritual metropolitan called in the aid of the Chinese government, and eventually acquired for himself and his successors, the grand lamas, the temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty. In prosperity the Buddhists retained the eclectic instincts which had rendered them so much service in the propagation of their religion. Buddhism came into Thibet from Cashmere, where

* The Chinese historians attribute this act of Ming-ti to a warning received in a dream. We know that dream-warnings were frequently pretended in ancient times, in justification of a course already predetermined.

it was deeply tinctured with Brahminism and Shivaism, and in Thibet had adopted much of the native religion, which was a form of Shamanism. But, when the Canon was translated and published, a reform party arose, who finally succeeded in exterminating their antagonists. These reformers had fallen in with the Nestorian missionaries, and in their turn adopted many Christian rites and usages. It is not, therefore, surprising, that the Buddhists of Thibet have their bishops, priests, and nuns; their infant baptism, confirmation, mass for the dead, rosaries, chaplets, candles, holy water, saints' days, fast days, and processions.* These are relics of oriental Christianity which the Thibetan Buddhists have picked up and retained without, possibly, divining their meaning.

One great difficulty in comprehending the principles of all oriental religions arises from the figurative language in which their expositions are clothed, and which, being interpreted in a literal sense, gives rise to a series of absurd fables which have been received as the genuine doctrines of their founders. This has been no less the case with Buddhism than with its contemporaries and successors. For instance, the Buddhistic treatises on cosmogony represent the origin of the universe as a lotos-flower emerging from the chaos of waters, from which flower the universe unfolds its various spheres, terrestrial and celestial. The whole exposition is in reality a figure; the idea sought to be conveyed is something akin to the Darwinian theory of development, to wit, that the universe is originally contained in a germ of which the origin is unknown, but whence all creation is gradually evolved—one kingdom of nature growing out of another until perfection is attained in the celestial Nirvâna.† Unfortunately, European scholars—and possibly the more ignorant Buddhists—have

* Eitel, p. 32: "Something of the same kind may be found in China, where K'wanyin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy, is clothed in a veil and hood, and decorated with cross and rosary."

† "Whether Nirvâna denotes a *place* or merely a condition continues an unsettled point; but that it denotes the perfection of existence—or non-existence—is undisputed."—Bournouf, p. 18.

wholly misconceived the idea, and imagined Buddha to have taught that the entire universe literally grew out of a lotos-flower.* This is but a single instance of the manner in which serious doctrines—sometimes embodying profound truths, at others containing errors, indeed, but errors sufficiently respectable to have been accepted by many modern philosophers—have been set down as childish fables, from a misconception of the allegorical language in which they are clothed.

If we would, therefore, form a just idea of Buddhism, we must first divest it of all allegorical dress, and look for the fundamental principles intended to be conveyed in its teachings.

Another difficulty arises from the extensive changes which the primitive doctrines of Buddha have undergone—changes resulting partly from its varying fortunes and partly from its eclectic character. As originally set forth, it was mainly a system of morals, and, to a certain extent, of philosophy. Shâkyamuni Buddha not only had no idea of aspiring to divine honors, but throughout his original system there appears to have been no recognition of a Divinity.† Even after his death the process of deification appears to have been very gradual. The earliest Sutras, or religious treatises, published consist chiefly of discourses between himself and his disciples. These early Sutras appear to have been handed down for the most part orally. They prescribed little ritual, and that of the simplest character; even when a divine character began to be ascribed to the founder there were no offerings except of perfumes and flowers; no worship beyond the recitation of chants and prayers; no reverence paid except to the images of Buddha and the structures supposed to contain some of his relics.‡ This was the earliest form of Buddhism, and was

* The lotos is a favorite image among Buddhists. One of their principal Sutras is entitled the Lotos of Good Law.

† "Il a vécu, il a enseigné, et il est mort en philosophe; et son humanité est resté un fait si incontestablement reconnu de tous, que les légendaires auxquels coutaient si peu les miracles, n'ont pas même eu la pensée d'en faire un Dieu après sa mort."—Bournouf, p. 338.

‡ Bournouf, p. 339.

called Hinâyana or the school of the small conveyance. But, when Buddhism had overspread many countries and become the religion of the great and learned, its simple asceticism and energetic practical charity passed out of sight and were replaced by a transcendental system of speculation which esteemed the perfection of bliss, as well as the highest degree of merit, to consist in indolent and ecstatic contemplation. This was the Mahayâna system or school of the great conveyance. Under this system accumulated a library of sacred canons, amounting, it was boldly asserted, to over eighty thousand canons. One of the works of this school—the Abhidharma Kosha Vyâkhyâ—claims that the original texts of the law exceeded that number, but adds that all are lost except six thousand—whether texts or volumes does not plainly appear—which constitute the body of the Law. These canons the writers of the Mahayâna school style Tripitaka or the Three Baskets, and distribute them into three classes, the Sutra Pitaka, or discourses of Buddha; the Vinaya Pitaka, or Canons of Discipline; and the Abhidarma Pitaka, or Canons of Metaphysics. According to these authorities the Tripitaka were compiled by three disciples of Shâkyamuni Buddha—Ananda having collected the Sutra, Upali the Vinaya, and Kayapa the Abhidarma.* These last two classes the Mahayâna philosophers also style Dharma Ratna, or Jewels of the Law.

A marked difference is manifest in the Sutras of the Mahayâna school from the Sutras of the early Buddhists, from which they are distinguished by the term Mahâ vâipulya Sutra, or Sutra of great development. These Sutras are written partially in verse—the poetic part being, however, a mere repetition in another shape of the prose portion, and are written in a barbarous sanskrit called the Mahayâna dialect. But the difference in form is but a circumstance in comparison with the variation in doctrine. Here we find the full development of the remarkable cosmic philosophy which is the distinguishing feature of modern Buddhism, and which in various

* Bournouf, p. 45.

forms and disguises may be said to underlie the whole system; a philosophy which, in all probability, enounces many theories of which Shâkyamuni Buddha never so much as dreamed; and which, despite its many absurdities, undoubtedly shadows forth many of the most brilliant discoveries of modern science. The cosmic theories of Buddha arose in opposition to the Brahmins, who ascribed the entire universe to one impersonal, self-existent Deity, or Brahma, from whom all existence emanated, by whom all existence was permeated, and into whom all existence was to be ultimately absorbed. Buddha held that the universe was in a state of constant flux and reflux, new worlds perpetually rising into existence, changing, falling into destruction, and reproducing themselves to be destroyed and recreated anew in endless succession.* What was the great *primum mobile*, or by what power the first worlds were brought into existence, he did not admit to be beyond his knowledge, but veiled his ignorance under the specious plea that it was a problem whose solution none but himself could comprehend.† This system of creation, destruction, and reproduction he expounded, as heretofore stated, by the figure of the lotos, saying that the chaos formed by the destruction of a former universe sent up germs of new worlds like lotos-flowers, which, floating on the water, developed into heaven and earth, and finally, under the influence of four great winds and five clouds, produced minerals, plants, animals, men, and, ultimately, Buddhas. Then followed the period of destruction, at first gradual as in the deaths of individual plants and animals—eventually total, resulting in a chaos from which a new universe was to be presently evolved.‡ Each world was supposed to float in empty space, and to consist of four great continents

* "The Bouddhûs do not believe in a first cause; they consider matter as eternal; that every portion of existence has in itself its own rise, tendency, and destiny."—Ward, vol. ii., p. 212.

† Eitel, p. 117.

‡ How much of this philosophy really emanated from Buddha may be reasonably doubted. It is certain that its chief exposition is found in the Abhidarmas of the Mahayâna school.

encompassing a central mountain around which the sun, moon, stars, and planets revolved. Seas separated the continents, and concentric circles of rocks divided them from the central mountain, on which dwelt the Dévas or glorified Buddhists, and in whose caverns were the hells ruled by Yama, himself a condemned son of earth—the Mâra, or spirit of evil, dwelling not here, but having his abode in the air, where he was allowed to exercise his temptations upon mortals. Neither the joys of heaven nor the pains of hell were believed to be eternal. Death was supposed to await all their occupants who were reborn into various sentient existences—into the hells as sufferers, into the world as animals or men, into the heavens as Dévas, according to their merits; which round of births and deaths must continue until, the desire of existence being itself overcome, the soul should be qualified for absorption into Nirvâna.*

Here we have the fundamental ideas of the advanced Buddhistic theology—for the universe, incessant creation, destruction, and reproduction; for the human soul, incessant births, deaths, and transmigrations; for a rule of life, morality and meditation; for ultimate reward, Nirvâna.

Whether Nirvâna was employed to designate a glorified state of existence, or absolute non-existence, is a question which has been discussed without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion.† The philosophical schools of Buddhistic theology incline very strongly to the latter theory—the earlier schools maintaining that existence is a positive evil, and its absolute negation the object to which all should aspire. Modern

* Buddha is supposed by his votaries to have appeared 550 times upon earth, and to have been a Déva before his last appearance as a Buddha—from this last sojourn on earth he is supposed to have been absorbed directly into Nirvâna. The Burmese mythology represents him to have even passed 8,000 years in hell.

† "Le Nirvâna, c'est à dire d'une manière très générale, la délivrance ou le salut, est le but suprême qui le fondateur du Buddhisme a proposé aux efforts de l'homme, mais qu'est ce que cette délivrance, et quelle est la nature de ce salut? Si nous consultons l'etymologie, elle nous repondra que c'est l'anéantissement, l'extinction."—Bournouf, p. 18.

philosophers have carried their quiddities to a still finer point of absurdity. According to them Nirvâna is not annihilation, but yet has no objective reality. In Nirvâna the soul is neither existent nor non-existent, neither eternal nor non-eternal, neither annihilated nor non-annihilated. Nirvâna is, in fact, an abstract without qualities positive or negative. Who shall reply to distinctions so miserably puerile?

It is probable, however, that the majority of the followers of Buddha—all, in fact, who had not become entangled in the hair-splitting discussions of the schools—regarded Nirvâna as an actual state of existence, in which the soul, purified from all hopes, fears, joys, sorrows, or desires, experienced a condition of perfect rest.* This is the theory set forth in the early Sutras or sacred writings, which recognize the conscious existence of the spirit in Nirvâna, and even intimate the possibility of its retaining its interest in this earth, and in certain instances reappearing in behalf of the faithful. We may, therefore, conclude that this was the doctrine originally imparted by Buddha; and we can imagine the longing with which the poor, heart sick, world-weary apostle of a faith which expressed without satisfying his cravings, may have learned to regard a state of rest without hope, desire, or care, as the perfection of ideal bliss. But, true to his ascetic principles, he taught that this state of bliss was to be attained only by the observance of a code of morality which exacted not only the abstinence from evil, but the most utter self-renunciation, the strictest self-denial, the utmost personal purity, and the largest charity; that the votary was required to work out this code by his unaided efforts; to which the Mahayâna philosophers added that all this, when accomplished, was of no avail without the aid of an abstract meditation, which should, even in this life, eradicate all human emotions and the desire of existence itself; until which result was obtained, the votary had no hope of Nirvâna.†

* "Nirvâna implies exemption from all the miseries incident to humanity, but by no means annihilation."—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 180.

† "Sans entrer ici dans une discussion délicate qui trouvera sa place

The theological developments of the Mahayâna school were not less remarkable than its cosmic philosophy. Not content with deifying Shâkyamuni Buddha, it enunciated the doctrine of an infinite succession of Buddhas who presided over the various universes as they arose out of chaos. To this it added a vast multitude of Bôdhisattvas or Buddhas in process of formation. This name or Bôdhisattva—which signifies "possessed of the essence of Buddha"—the Mahayâna school applied to those beings, originally men, who, by the constant exercise of all the virtues and the practice of devout meditation, have qualified themselves to attain the state of supreme perfection. A Bôdhisattva must have, through numberless prior existences, acquired the favor of some of the ancient Buddhas, who, according to this theory, are not so completely absorbed in Nirvâna as to be incapable of interest in their successors. When at last permitted to appear on the earth, this being is still a Bôdhisattva—not a Buddha. The most severe trials, the most exalted virtue, the most perfect knowledge, the most profound meditation, entitle him only to the position of a Bôdhisattva. In that capacity he becomes capable of delivering mortals from the horrors of transmigration, of instructing them and receiving their worship. From this state it is intimated that he may eventually rise to the condition of a Buddha in some future convulsion of the universe, and finally arrive at the ultimate goal of absorption in Nirvâna.*

These Bôdhisattvas or inferior Buddhas are nowhere mentioned in any of the earlier Sutras, but are the creation of the Mahayâna school, in whose system of theology they play a most important part. In the Mahayâna Sutras Buddha is no longer represented as preaching to mortals—his audiences consist of Bôdhisattvas and Dévas, who are mortals in a

ailleurs, je puis déjà dire que le Nirvâna est pour les théistes l'absorption de la vie individuelle en Dieu, et pour les athées l'absorption de cette vie individuelle dans le néant; mais pour les uns et les autres le Nirvâna est la délivrance, c'est l'affranchissement suprême."—Bournouf, p. 18.

* Bournouf, p. 110.

lower stage of glorification, holding the same relation to the Bôdhisattva that the latter does to Buddha.*

By certain Buddhists an attempt has been at one time made to combine the Hinâyana and Mahayâna schools into a system called Madhyimâyana, or school of the Medium Conveyance,† but this system, as might be expected, found few followers

The Hinâyana system at present prevails throughout Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam; while the Mahayâna is principally recognized in Cashmere and Nepaul. But a third school eventually arose, which, throughout the Mongol races, was destined to absorb all previous systems, and entirely revolutionize the character of Northern Buddhism.‡

The hermits of the mountains, and the monks of the cloisters, becoming weary of a life of inactive contemplation, turned their attention to natural science; and while the former acquired the knowledge of herbs and plants, which developed into the science of medicine, the latter became adepts in the secrets of chemistry. These came before the world as the founders of the school called "Tantra," from the names of its principal treatises—a school which professed mysterious and occult knowledge, claimed to possess the elixir of immortality, and pretended the power to banish drought, pestilence, and famine. This was welcomed with avidity by the superstitious multitude, and drew into its ranks not only the more learned members of the Mahayâna school, but many of the Hinâyana who were ambitious of more distinction than was attainable under their own system.

It is not probable that the Tantra philosophers ventured at once to attempt the wholesale revolution in theology which they appear to have ultimately effected; but, by gradually engrafting one doctrine upon another, they eventually, though

* Bournouf, p. 129. † Eitel, p. 37.

‡ The Tantras have become works of such received authority among the Northern Buddhists, that in Thibet they divide the sacred writings into Mdo or Sutra, and Reynd or Tantra.

still calling themselves Buddhists, and gravely asserting that all their doctrines emanated from Buddha, created a religion which retained little of the early faith beyond the name.

That changes should in the course of ages arise in any faith of which the origin was human, and the teachings originally oral, is too much a matter of experience to excite any surprise; but the radicalness of the changes effected by the Tantra school is without parallel in the history of religion. The Tantra system, as we shall perceive when we come to speak more at length of Northern Buddhism, is a simple polytheism—a polytheism with which is commonly blended a species of monotheism, or the recognition of one supreme Buddha to whom all the Buddhas, Bôdhisattvas, Dévas, and other divinities are subordinate. These Buddhas, Bôdhisattvas, and Dévas, are in the Tantra school regarded as gods and goddesses; for the female element, which Buddha especially abhorred, is in this system not only recognized, but reverenced. The Tantra school has, in fact, a sensual character; a mythology not dissimilar to that of the very Brahminism and Sivàism against which Buddhism was, in the first instance, a protest; believes in a sensual paradise, not unlike that of Mahomet; inculcates the efficacy of charms, spells, formal repetition of prayers, and the most superstitious forms of idolatry; and with all this blends certain ideas which appear to the Christian like a travestie of Gospel teachings.*

It will be realized from the foregoing account that Buddhism, considered simply as a system of dogmatic theology, does not contain elements of a character to account for the general hold which it has obtained throughout Eastern and Central Asia. That it anticipated many of the discoveries of astronomy; that it divined some of the results of modern geology; that it imparted to the minds of the people the belief in a

* "Les Tantras, en effet, sont des traités d'un caractère tout spécial, ou le culte des Dieux et des Déesses bizarres ou terribles, s'allie au système Monothéistique et aux autres developpements du Buddhisme septentrional, c'est à dire à la théorie d'un Buddha suprême, et à celle des Buddhas et des Bôdhisattvas surhumains."—Bournouf, p. 522.

world of spirits; and that it inculcated a morality higher and purer and a charity more earnest and self-denying than did any of its predecessors, are not facts sufficient to account for the eagerness with which it has been adopted and the unquestioning faith with which it is received among the ignorant and the learned. For an explanation of these we must look to the forms which Buddhism has adopted as a popular religion; and we shall find that only in proportion as it has departed from the doctrines of its original founder, and acquired elements of theism, has it obtained a hold over the hearts of the people. Its elasticity and spirit of eclecticism were indeed such that in no country do we find at present the pure, unadulterated doctrine of Shâkyamuni Buddha. Even in Ceylon, where Buddhism retains most nearly its original form, essential changes will be perceived, especially among the masses. The first primitive element which disappeared was atheism. Although Buddha and his early disciples denied not only the existence of a God, but, for all practical purposes, refused to deify humanity—representing that Buddha himself was absorbed into Nirvâna, where he maintained no further connection with the world, and that the Dévas were only in a state of progress toward the same ultimate absorption; still the people would not remain without an object of worship, and soon began to pay divine honors not only to Shâkyamuni himself, but to six other Buddhas supposed to have preceded him.

In the Cingalese temples are statues of Buddha and of his principal disciples or Bôdhisattvas, before whom the people prostrate themselves, utter prayers, and make offerings at their shrines. The educated Buddhists, indeed, deny that worship is offered to these images or to the worthies which they represent. They profess to have erected images solely in honor of their memory, and that vows are uttered before them only to deepen the impression made by their example.* But the com-

* "When Rev. Wm. Ward asked a Joinu why, since the object of their worship was neither a creator nor a preserver, they honored him as God, he was answered that it was an act of homage to exalted merit." See *Ward's Hindoos*, vol. ii., p. 215.

mon people draw no such fine distinctions. To them the Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas are divinities. They worship them in faith, expecting answers to their prayers, and in this respect differ little from pagan idolaters. Again, as to Nirvâna, the people have practically abandoned the doctrine of annihilation. Although they describe it by negatives only as a condition in which there will be no more transmigration, no more suffering, no more sin, they appear to have little doubt that, of that condition, existence and consciousness will be elements, though their ideas on the subject are extremely undefined.* In Burmah and Siam they have gone still further and blended with the doctrines of Buddha a certain amount of the ancient serpent and tree-worship, and a reverence for spiritual beings amounting almost to polytheism. Still, in these three countries, Buddhism as a rule retains its essential characteristics; and in them, as we have seen, it occupies but a precarious foothold, and is practically a declining religion, little regarded save by the superstitious multitude. It is to Northern Buddhism that we must look for the changes which have rendered it essentially a popular religion, as it is in Central and Eastern Asia that we find the faith still augmenting its numbers by recruits from all sides.

A visitor to the Buddhistic temples in China, Corea, Japan, Nepaul, and Thibet, will remark that they are filled with images, and literally swarm with worshippers, who repeat long litanies of daily prayer, written in an unknown tongue—Sanscrit—and believed by them to possess a magical influence. We find them adoring the demon kings of the four regions, the statues of the eighteen priests who were the apostles of Buddhism in these countries, and Buddhas, five in number, each possessing his own name and attributes, and having his own celestial Bôdhisattva, who is worshipped as his spiritual son.† To every Buddha they assign a triple existence, as a Manuchi living, or having lived, on earth, a Dhyâni existing metaphysically in Nirvâna, and a Padmapâni, or spiritual son,

* Bournouf, p. 18. † Eitel, p. 88; Bournouf, p. 116.

generated in the world of forms. The Buddha of the present Church—the only historical Buddha—was called Shâkyamuni on earth, or as a Manuchi; as a Dhyani, however, he is called Amitâbha, by which name he is commonly worshipped; and as a Padmapâni he is called Avalôkitêshvara—in China, K'wan-yin—and—a most signal departure from the original creed which allowed women no place in heaven, except through re-birth as men—this Avalôkitêshvara, or K'wan-yin, the third person of this mystical Trinity—is, in most instances, adored under the semblance of a woman.*

These Northern Buddhists have still another form of the Trinity, the persons of which they style Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha—Dharma representing the law, and Samgha the church—and these three, they declare, are one.† Although Dharma and Samgha were originally but names used to denote dogmas or articles of faith, yet they are now worshipped as personal deities having an essential identity with Buddha, though a distinct personality; and the common formula of the Buddhists is, "I take my refuge in Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha." Here, again, the Buddhist philosophers attempt to adhere to their primitive atheism, and explain that the so-called persons of the Trinity are simple abstractions, Buddha denoting perfect knowledge, Dharma perfect virtue, and Samgha perfect existence.‡ Little respect is paid to this theory by the priests and people. To them the

* "The Chinese assert that K'wan-yin was the daughter of their Emperor Chwang-wang, of the Chow dynasty, and was deified by Amitâbha Buddha as a companion for himself."—Eitel, p. 104.

† Bournouf, p. 283.

‡ "The Buddhist worshippers, both Southern and Northern, attach a different signification to these terms. They say that Buddha, before his death, taught his followers that, after his ascent, the remains of his body, his doctrine, or an assembly of his disciples, were to be held in equal reverence with himself. The Cingalese, as well as the Chinese or Thibetan worshipper, in approaching an image of Buddha, will repeat the prescribed formula: I take refuge in Buddha; I take refuge in his doctrine (Dharma); I take refuge in his followers (Samgha)."—See *Ward*, vol. ii., p. 214.

Buddhistic Trinity, or rather Trinities—for they appear in a variety of combinations—are so many divinities to be worshipped, with a retinue of minor deities as numerous as may be found in the Vedas of the Brahmins or the hagiology of the Greek Church. In fact, Northern Buddhism possesses a hagiology of its own. Deified men, and even women, who have been distinguished for munificence or piety, have been honored with a place in the popular pantheon, and are worshipped with as much devotion as Amitâbha or Avalókitêshvara.*

As if the ancient teachings of Buddha were to be in every respect reversed, we find these northern Buddhists absolutely rejecting the belief in Nirvâna—that metaphysical abstraction which offers to illustrious virtue the reward of absorption, or non-existence—and professing their faith in a Western Paradise, the abode of Amitâbha Buddha, who bears on his breast a cross—the Svâstika—the emblem admitting the believer into the abodes of the blest.† Nor is this Paradise another name for Nirvâna, conveying the idea of absorption or eternal rest. It is a paradise of positive, defined delights —of beatific vision or the perpetual presence of Amitâbha, who is all light, boundless light, and discourses forever on religion. Yet the presence of Amitâbha and the privilege of hearing his discourses are far from constituting the sole rewards of the believer. More substantial inducements are offered by this western paradise. Precious ponds, whose water removes hunger and thirst; golden sands, pavements of precious stones, pavilions of transparent jewels, lotos-flowers of dazzling hues and marvelous size, diffusing the most fragrant aromas, birds making delicious music, in which the trees which adorn the Paradise, the silk nets which encompass it, and the immortals who inhabit it instinctively join, appeal to all the senses which, so far from subsiding into the unconscious or semi-conscious torpidity of Nirvâna, are here supposed to be immeasurably intensified. And not only is this

* Eitel, p. 109.

† An accumulation of lucky signs possessing ten thousand efficacies. —Eitel, p. 97.

paradise in its nature the reverse of Nirvâna, but its access is as easy as that of the other is difficult. No more need of monasticism, charity, self-denial, or continence. All that is required is an earnest faith in, and unremitting worship of, Amitâbha Buddha. Instead of works without faith we have substituted the doctrine of faith without works.* The very pronunciation of Amitâbha's name, if uttered with a devout heart a sufficient number of times, will serve as a passport to the paradise in the west. Amitâbha can save his own from the sorrows of this world and the horrors of endless transmigration, and bring them not only to eternal rest, but to an active and unending felicity.

It must be evident by this time, that these northern Buddhists are such only in name, and that, while they retain to a certain extent the cosmogony and philosophy of the founders, they have substituted a new deity or system of deities, a new religion and a new code for those promulgated by Shâkyamuni Buddha—a living Amitâbha for an absorbed Buddha; paradise for Nirvâna; polytheism, the grossest and most extravagant, for atheism pure and simple; faith and worship for morality and contemplation. How shall we account for this entire revolution in a religion that still bears the name and professes to hold the doctrine of the original founder?†

* Il ne s'agit plus, ainsi que dans les Sutras anciens, de se préparer par l'exercise de toutes les vertus à remplir un jour les devoirs d'un Buddha. Il suffit de tracer une figure, de la diviser en un certain nombre de compartiments, d'y dessiner ici l'image d'Amitâbha, le Buddha d'un monde fabuleux comme lui, là celle d'Avalôkitêçvara, le fameux Bôdhisattva, saint tutélaire de Tibet; ailleurs celles de quelques Divinités femelles aux noms singuliers et aux formes terribles; et le dévôt s'assure de la protection de ces Divinités qui s'arment de la formule magique ou du charme que possède chacune d'elles.—Bournouf, p. 522.

† It should be remarked that, while the mass of Buddhists in China have completely transformed their religion, and hold a faith which resembles that of Buddha in little more than the name, the learned philosophers of the religion of Fo, the Chinese name for Buddha, continue to enounce as the principles of their religion, ideas not materially different

Before undertaking to answer this question, we must take some notice of another important Buddhistic divinity, Avalôkitêshvara; while Amitâbha is supreme lord of the Western Paradise, Avalôkitêshvara directs the steps of the faithful on earth. In China as K'wan-yin, in Japan as K'wannon, in Thibet as Cenresi, in Mongolia as Ergetu Khonisin, she, or he—for the sex varies—is recognized ever by the same attributes. She is the goddess that has a thousand arms and a thousand eyes, and a merciful heart; she hears the prayers of those in danger or distress, especially on the sea; she is the invisible ruler of the Buddhist church—in a word, she is the Goddess of Mercy. In China she is said to be of human origin, the descendant of an emperor, deified by Amitâbha. In Thibet, Avalôkitêshvara, or Cenresi, is a male deity, the progenitor of the race, and believed to be continually incarnate in the Grand Lama.* Whether male or female, this is the divinity supposed to take an active interest in the concerns of this world from which Amitâbha is considered to be too remote, and to whom the people make their daily prayers and look to as the guide who will conduct them through this life and bring them into the paradise of Amitâbha. The prayer or magic

from the ancient doctrine. They still proclaim that nothing is the beginning and the end of existence; that from nothing the creation originated, and to nothing it will return. All beings they represent to be the same, their only difference consisting in their figure and qualities; and all spring from the same universal principles whose essence consists in being free from action, without knowledge and without desires. To obtain happiness we must endeavor, by continual meditation and frequent victories over ourselves, to acquire a likeness to this principle; we must accustom ourselves to do nothing, will nothing, feel nothing, desire nothing. "The whole of holiness consists in ceasing to exist, in being confounded with nothing. The moment that man arrives at this degree of perfection, he has no longer occasion to dread changes, futurity, or transmigration, because he hath ceased to exist, and become perfectly like the God, Fo."—*Grosier*, vol. ii., c. v., p. 220.

This is ancient Buddhism in its boldest and most prosaic form, minus its redeeming elements of charity and good works; but it no more expresses the popular belief of Chinese Buddhists than the dreamy mysticism of the schoolmen expressed the character of mediæval christianity.

* Eitel, p. 106; Bournouf, p. 522.

formula which is ever in their mouths, "Om mani pad me hum,"* is attributed to this divinity, and is inscribed on amulets, on houses, walls, pillars, books, coins, and so forth, being considered an infallible charm against every species of calamity and evil influence.†

In Nepaul they worship one special Buddha, whom they style Adi, or the Ancient. This Adi-Buddha they suppose to be self-existent, omniscient, and infinite; and to have created by his contemplative power five Buddhas, styled Pantcha Dhyâni Buddhas. Each of these Buddhas perceives in himself the double energy of knowledge and contemplation, and by the double energy generates a Dhyâni Bôdhisattva, who is his spiritual son. Each of these Bôdhisattvas is the creator of a universe; but every universe is perishable. Three of these creators have already expired; the present universe is the

* *Anglice:* "O God! the jewel in the lotos! Amen!"

† Koeppen gives the following curious account of the universal prevalence of this formula in Buddhist regions:

"These primitive six syllables, which the Lamas repeat, are, of all the prayers of earth, the prayer which is most frequently repeated, written, printed, and conveniently offered up by mechanical means. They constitute the only prayer which the common Mongols and Thibetans know; they are the first words which the stammering child learns, and are the last sighs of the dying. The traveller murmurs them upon his journey; the herdsman by his flock; the wife in her daily work; the monk in all stages of contemplation, that is to say, of nihilism; and they are the cries of conflict and triumph. One meets them everywhere, wherever the Lama Church has established itself—on flags, rocks, trees, walls, stone monuments, utensils, strips of paper, human skulls, skeletons, and so forth. They are, according to the meaning of the believer, the essence of all religion, of all wisdom and revelation; they are the way of salvation, and the entrance of holiness. These six syllables unite the joys of all Buddhas in one point, and are the root of all nations. They are the heart of hearts, out of which every thing profitable and blessed flows; they are the root of all knowledge, the guide to re-birth in a higher state of being, the door which the curse of birth has closed up, the ship which carries us out of the mutations of birth, the light which illumines the black darkness, the valiant conqueror of the Five Evils, the flaming ocean in which sins and sorrows are destroyed; the hammer which shatters all pain."—*Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, p. 59.

fourth in succession, and is the work of the fourth Bôdhisattva Avalôkitêshvara.* The philosophers, of course, represent that the name Adi-Buddha denotes a mere abstract idea of moral virtue; but to the mass of the people he is the chief, if not the only, Supreme Being. Ideas not dissimilar are found among all Northern Buddhists, who, while regarding Amitâbha, with his spiritual son, Avalôkitêshvara, as the Supreme Lord of all things, and entirely different from the multitude of inferior deities whom they worship, still entertain a vague idea of a power behind these, and to whom these are subordinate, which power they hold to be the First Cause of the Universe, but of whom they say that they have no definite revelation. †

In this we see to how immense a distance the Tantra school, which is recognized in these northern countries, has gone beyond the most advanced doctrines of the Mahayâna. In the earlier system the Bôdhisattvas were but glorified mortals, their name legion, their function obedience to the ancient Buddhas, their ambition to become Buddhas themselves, their ultimate destiny absorption in Nirvâna. In the Tantra, on the contrary, we find simultaneously existing but one Bôdhisattva, as there is but one Buddha. The Bôdhisattva is the divinity who directs the affairs of earth; the Buddha the deity who rules in Paradise; below them is an infinity of minor deities, some of mortal, others of quasi-divine origin; and, above all, one great first cause, or Adi-Buddha, of whom little or nothing is known. Thus, we see that, among the Buddhists of the North, the original atheism of the founder has been transformed not only into polytheism, but a polytheism nearly akin to monotheism, the species of theism which, reverencing gods many, recognizes one alone as supreme. ‡

Not in these respects alone have the Buddhists of the North departed from, or rather reversed, the doctrine of their founder. They have actually incorporated with their religion a doctrine of atonement for sin utterly at variance with the teachings of Shâkyamuni. Not only have they their magic

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*Bournouf, p. 117. †Eitel, p. 117. ‡Bournouf, p. 522.

formulas, their propitiatory sacrifices, their prayers, which, not content with uttering, they grind out of a machine invented for the purpose, but their priests have established an elaborate ritual whereby guilt is cleansed, sin expiated, souls released from hell and re-born into the western paradise. This ritual they have set forth in books or Sutras, which they gravely pretend to have emanated from Shâkyamuni Buddha. They have their paraphernalia, their magic circles and diagrams, their vadjra or sceptre of Indra, their sanscrit incantations, their mystic sign "HRI," which takes away the guilt of all in whose behalf it is uttered—by the priest, *bien entendu* —and discharges the suffering soul from hell into heaven. This, of course, is to be obtained only by the payment of money to the priesthood, and in this manner is derived the principal revenue of the Buddhist hierarchy.*

From the facts now before us it will not be difficult to account both for the singularly rapid propagation of Buddhism and for the radical changes which it has undergone. Originally preached to a people bowed for ages under the heavy yoke of Brahminism; the voice of one crying in the wilderness proclaiming freedom from the hopeless bondage of caste, deliverance from the horrors of transmigration and the privilege to each individual of working out his own salvation by a life of morality, charity, and self-denial; offering an active and earnest life to replace the dull round of Brahminical superstition; aided by the personal eloquence of its founder and the energetic and devoted lives of his disciples; there was that in its teachings which appealed to the inmost longings of the people and enlisted at once their pride and their affections. Ingeniously allying itself with each popular superstition which it found in the countries into which it extended; humoring popular weaknesses which in quasi-civilized countries had been sternly frowned down by the higher schools of philosophy; flattering the foibles, the cravings, the superstitions of the less cultivated classes; enlightening the ignorance and softening the ferocity

* Eitel, p. 119.

of nations hitherto barbarous; above all, appealing to the masses through its theory of universal brotherhood; it is not strange that it should have spread with a rapidity unexampled in history. These, however, were qualities better calculated to further the rapid extension of a religion than to ensure its permanence. A time came when the hitherto struggling sect became all powerful—when it was the favored of emperors, kings, and rulers. The elements which adversity strengthens, prosperity is apt to dissolve. While in those regions which adhered to the primitive faith of Buddha, the fervor of its adherents melted in the sunshine of prosperity, until in India, its birthplace, the first blast of fresh persecution swept it quite away, and in adjacent territories it continues to maintain but a dwindling existence; in regions more remote, although retaining its title, its prominent watchwords and a few of the underlying philosophical ideas, it abandoned all its essential elements and became substantially a new religion—a religion of penances and mummeries, priests and sacrifices, fables and superstitions, gods many and lords many; a religion in which unquestioning belief was held to constitute the highest merit; unwearied worship at the shrines and liberal payments to the priests the most certain road to salvation. That a religion which adapts itself to the fancies of its votaries, and, like the chameleon, takes its color from whatever happens to constitute its nourishment, should retain an existence not unlike that of the knife whose handle and blade were each changed two hundred times, the knife being still claimed by the schoolmen to preserve its identity, can hardly be a matter of surprise.

Hollow and unsatisfactory as are its principles, it must be admitted that Buddhism has not been without its usefulness. It taught lessons of morality, purity, and benevolence where they were but little known: it tamed the half-savage races who came under its influence, and brought them into a state approaching civilization. It crossed mountains and deserts; and peoples, who from their secluded position had relapsed into barbarism, were enlightened by its teachings, and raised in the

scale of nations. Of the various systems of natural religion, it was perhaps one of the best. Yet was it hopelessly imperfect. A system of morality without conscience; a system which inculcated unselfishness by appealing to motives purely selfish; a system intellectually weak from its appetite for the marvellous and transcendental, and its disposition for controversy on points more minute than ever occupied the mediæval schoolmen; it might elevate from barbarism, but could not conduce to a high civilization. In reviewing its history we realize the truth of Bunsen's estimate:

"Buddhism may be regarded as a sort of repose of humanity after its deliverance from the heavy yoke of Brahminism, and the wild orgies of nature worship. But this repose is that of a weary wanderer who is withheld from the prosecution of God's work on this earth by his utter despair of the triumph of justice and truth in actual life. In the plan of the world's order it seems even now to be producing the effect of a mild dose of opium on the raving or despairing tribes of weary Central Asia."

ART. II.—1. *Theoria Motus Corporum Cœlestium.* By CHARLES FREDERICK GAUSS. 1 vol. 4to. 1809.

2. *Histoire de l'Astronomie Moderne.* By M. DELAMBRE. 2 vols. 4to.

3. *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society.*

MAN is confined to a limited region of space, and fixed to the surface of the earth by the force of gravity, from which he is unable to separate himself, except by a very small distance. Even when we take into consideration the fact that the earth revolves around the sun, the space that we pass through is still very small when compared with the extent of the visible universe. Notwithstanding all this, man, by diligent inquiry and close observation, has arrived at many important conclusions. He has learned that terrestrial matter is subject to certain laws which he is able to comprehend; and, when he ex-

tends his investigations to the sun and planets, he finds that they are subject to a part of the laws regulating telluric phenomena, and by analogy he concludes that the same laws and forces reign there as here.

But there are other cases where the laws are not exact—the real law is hidden to a great extent, showing itself in a partial control of some phenomena which nature presents. Such is Bode's law, as it is called. This law gives, in an approximate manner, the relation between the mean distances of any two of the planets from the sun. If we subtract four from the numbers representing the mean distances of any two consecutive planets, and divide the greater remainder by the less, the quotient will be nearly two in every case, except where Mercury or Neptune is one of the planets. Though this is known as Bode's law, it is due to Titius, since Bode says that he derived it from the former's translation of Bonnet's "Contemplation of Nature."

Previous to the discovery of the first asteroid there was a hiatus between Mars and Jupiter, corresponding to the number twenty-eight in the series of Bode. This interval had attracted the attention of the illustrious Kepler, with his volcanic imagination, as Arago describes him, when he attempted to show that the distances of the planets from the sun corresponded with the five regular solids of geometry. "This plan having failed," says he, "I tried to reach my aim in another way, of singular boldness, I must confess. I interpose a new planet between Mars and Jupiter, and another, also, between Venus and Mercury, both of which are probably invisible on account of their smallness, and I assign to them their respective periods."*

The planets which Kepler supposed to exist between Mercury and Venus have never been discovered, and it is extremely probable that there are none there. His other predictions, singularly enough, having been confirmed when the

* *Myterium Cosmographicum*, p. 7.

first asteroid was discovered, M. Delambre,* in 1821, called the attention of astronomers to that which relates to the invisible planets between the orbits of Mercury and Venus. The idea that invisible planets existed was not alone due to Kepler, for we are informed by Seneca† that "not these five stars (planets) only moved, but that they only had been observed, for a countless number are borne along beyond the reach of vision."

The discovery of Uranus, in 1781, added an unexpected confirmation to Bode's law, to which we have referred, and the hypothesis of an undiscovered planet between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter attracted especial attention in Germany. The Baron de Zach went so far as to publish in the Berlin "Almanach" for 1789 the elements of the orbit of the supposed planet. In 1800 he organized an association of astronomers at Lilienthal, consisting of twenty-four observers, the object of the association being to search for the undiscovered planet. The conduct of the whole work was placed under the direction of the celebrated observer, Schröter.

Since all the known planets were found to be confined in their motions to a narrow zone extending on each side of the ecliptic, or the sun's apparent orbit, and known as the zodiac, it was thought to be sufficient to examine the heavens in this limited region. For this purpose the zodiac was divided into twenty-four parts, one of which was to be explored by each astronomer of the association. It was not long before the first asteroid was discovered, but the discovery was not made by any one of the twenty-four astronomers to whom we have referred.

A catalogue of stars had been published by Dr. Wollaston, and Piazzi, an astronomer of Palermo, had been occupied for ten years in correcting this catalogue. Wollaston had assigned

* "On n'a fait aucune attention à cette supposition de Kepler, quand on a formé des projets de découvrir la planète qui (selon une autre de ces prédictions) devait circuler entre Mars et Jupiter."—*Hist. de l'Astron. Mod.*, tome i., p. 314.

† *Nat. Quæst*, vii., 13.

in the constellation Taurus the position of a star which did not exist; and the absence of this star from the position assigned attracted Piazzi's attention. On the night of the 1st of January, 1801, he noticed a small star, whose place he determined, and on the evening following it appeared to have changed its position. On the 3d he felt sure that the star had a retrograde motion in the zodiac, and he knew that he had discovered a wandering body, which he at first took to be a comet. He did not notify astronomers till the 24th of January, when he transmitted an account of it to Oriani and Bode, but his letters were two months in reaching their destination. Piazzi continued to observe the star till the 11th of the following February, when he was seized with a dangerous illness, which completely interrupted his observations. He sent the positions of the star, as recorded by him on the 3d and the 23d of January, to the astronomers mentioned above, and when they received the information the planet was so involved in the sun's rays that further observations were impracticable, and it was necessary to wait till the next September for an opportunity to search for it again. Bode, however, felt sure that the star was a planet, an opinion to which Piazzi subscribed, and he named it Ceres.

A problem of great practical importance now presented itself for solution; namely, the calculation of the orbit of a planet after six weeks of observation. After Piazzi's recovery he published all the observations which he had made on the planet. When Uranus was discovered, mathematicians had found the means of determining the elements of its orbit, but as yet no complete treatise on the calculations of orbits had been published, nor had any been prepared. The illustrious Gauss, then about twenty-four years of age, and but little known, solved this important problem, and he applied his solution to the determination of the elements of the orbit of the new planet Ceres, and he found the elements thus deduced to represent Piazzi's observations very closely. By making Gauss's orbit the basis of his researches, Dr. Olbers succeeded in rediscovering the planet on the 1st of January, 1802, just one year from the time of its original discovery.

Gauss's method for finding the elements of the orbit of a planet requires but three complete observations of the body; that is, the right ascensions and declinations at three given times. Gauss subsequently published a volume containing his solutions, and it has been the standard work up to the present time. Within a few years Professor Watson has published an elaborate treatise on "Theoretical Astronomy," and this has also become a standard work.

The calculation of the orbit of Ceres showed that the mean distance of the planet from the sun corresponded very nearly with that required by Bode's law. The singular coincidence between the actual mean distances of all the known planets, excepting that of Neptune and several of the asteroids, and the values of the same element, as given by Bode's series, has not yet, perhaps, been fully explained. That it is in some way due to the mode of genesis of the solar system, would seem to be evident; but the only explanation of it upon that basis, that is somewhat satisfactory, is that due to Professor Hinrichs, who finds it owing to the primitive rings from which the planets are supposed to have been formed being abandoned from the nebulous spheroid at equal intervals of time. The departure of the law from the actual observed mean distances, he supposes to be due to the falling of the planets toward the sun, owing to the resistance offered to their motion by the ether which is supposed to fill the celestial spaces. His explanation applies equally well to the satellites of the planets, and it renders a very plausible account of the comparative nearness of Neptune to the sun, when its distance is compared with that required by Bode's law.*

One planet having been discovered, which filled the gap signalized by Kepler, it was scarcely supposed that others existed in nearly the same region. Owing to this idea, probably, the systematic search for planets ceased on the discovery of Ceres, and the second asteroid may be said to have been

* *Planetology*, pp. 28–33.

accidentally found by Dr. Olbers while he was constructing a special chart to facilitate the future finding of the new planet. This discovery was made on the 28th of March, 1802. A star, not in the catalogue, attracted Olbers's attention, and further observations on it showed that it was another planet. Professor Gauss again applied his method and determined the elements of the orbit of the new body, and, to the great surprise of astronomers, the mean distance was found to be almost exactly the same as that of Ceres, while the inclination of the plane of the orbit to the ecliptic was more than three times as great, amounting to nearly thirty-five degrees—very much exceeding that of any of the older planets. The new planet was called Pallas.

The discovery of Pallas suggested to the mind of Dr. Olbers a most remarkable hypothesis. We say remarkable, for it calls for the play of forces of a certain character, that are nowhere manifested to the extent required. The two orbits were found to approach very near each other at the descending node of Pallas, and this led to the conclusion that Ceres and Pallas were probably fragments of a single larger planet, which had been shattered in pieces by some tremendous catastrophe. He further supposed that more fragments might exist, and that it would be possible to discover them. Supposing the orbits of the several fragments of the primitive planet to be unchanged by the attraction of the other members of the solar system, mechanical laws show that all the fragments would pass through the point where they originated; and that the planes of their orbits would all intersect in two points in opposite regions of the heavens, which points should be the nodes of the orbits of Ceres and Pallas, situated in the constellations Virgo and the Whale. According to this view these two points would be the only ones about which it would be necessary to look, in order to discover more of the fragments. This happy conjecture did not long remain unverified; for, on the 2d of September, 1804, Harding perceived a third planet in the Whale, and in 1807, the 29th of March, Dr. Olbers saw a fourth one in the northern wing of Virgo.

Here we see how one thing leads to another in the direct line of cause and effect, till an important result is reached, and yet the original conception probably has no foundation in nature. We have seen that our planet, one of the asteroids, was accidentally discovered; that is, without there being any systematic search for such a body by any one. To this we may add one other instance, the discovery of Uranus by Sir William Herschel. Discoveries of this kind, however, are very rare. It is possible that Mercury was in this way discovered by the ancients.

We have referred to the hypothesis of Olbers, respecting the rupture of a planet, and the results which immediately followed its publication. Although the orbit of Vesta, the fourth asteroid, was rather calculated to disprove the theory, yet it found some able advocates, especially Sir David Brewster, who entered into some particular discussions in relation to the matter, and he sums up his conclusions as follows: "These singular resemblances in the nations of the greater fragments, and the striking coincidence between theory and observation in the eccentricity of their orbits, in their inclination to the ecliptic, in the position of their nodes, and in the places of their aphelia, are phenomena which could not possibly result from chance, and which concur to prove, with an evidence amounting almost to demonstration, that the four new planets have diverged from one common node, and have, therefore, composed a single planet." The celebrated mathematician, Lagrange, prepared a curious memoir* in relation to the subject, in which he undertakes to determine that a force, necessary to communicate to the fragments of a planet a velocity equal to twenty times that of a 24-pound cannon ball, would suffice to give them a motion around the sun in elliptical orbits, the parts passing through the point where the explosion took place.

The hypothesis of Olbers is now entirely exploded, and it is interesting to trace the course pursued by the human mind in

* *Connaissance des Temps*, pour 1814.

its attempts to account for some of the phenomena which nature presents. In this case we see that a few more facts would have shown the hypothesis incompatible with nature's method of working; for the discovery, subsequently, of more asteroids, has shown that there is not the remotest probability that they all could have proceeded from the explosion of a planet.

From the time of the discovery of the fourth asteroid till that of the discovery of the fifth, there was an interval of thirty-eight years. During this period astronomers were not idle, however; Dr. Olbers continued to observe the small stars in Cetus and Virgo till 1816, when he relinquished his efforts. With a single exception all the known asteroids are entirely invisible to the naked eye, and most of them range from the eighth to the eleventh or twelfth magnitude. It will hence be seen that the chance for such a body to be accidentally discovered is very small; for it might easily happen that the telescope should have one in the field of view, and yet, unless its place were carefully observed and afterward re-examined, so as to show its motion, it would be passed by as a fixed star.

In order to discover these small planets it has been necessary to construct charts or catalogues of stars down to a given magnitude, and afterward *re-observe* all the stars, and in this way determine whether any new ones have made their appearance, and if any of those recorded have disappeared. The former generally make known the existence of planets which at once become known, while the latter have to be re-observed. In this way all the planets down to a given magnitude may be discovered, while those below such magnitude will yet remain hidden till after the construction of new charts which give the position of stars of still lower magnitudes. All the more recently-discovered asteroids are of this latter character.

There are now one hundred and forty of these minute planets known, and several are usually added every year. If we reckon from the discovery of the fifth one by Hencke, in 1845, to that of the one hundred and fortieth by Watson in 1874, we find an average of about four and seven-tenths a year.

To keep the run of all this vast number of small bodies, several of which have almost exactly the same period of revolution, and many of them differ but little from one another, so that one may not be mistaken for another, and an old one not be taken for a new one, the reader may well judge to be no small difficulty. As soon as a sufficient number of observations have been made on a new asteroid, its orbit is calculated, not as by the illustrious Gauss, in the early days of such discoveries, for he has passed away, but by any one of a host of computers who have been instructed directly or indirectly by that great master; and, as soon as the elements of the orbit become known, an ephemeris of its motion is computed, and thus its future course in the heavens is pictured out to the eye of the astronomer. As observations accumulate the first elements are corrected, and this process is carried on till the motion of the planet becomes well known. One very curious circumstance occurred in the course of these observations and calculations.

On the 22d of May, 1856, Mr. Goldschmidt, in Paris, discovered a new asteroid which was called Daphne. In 1858 Mr. Schubert computed a new orbit of the planet, as he supposed, from observations made in 1857; but, on comparing the observations of 1856 with these new elements, he found that they did not agree, and he therefore concluded that he had found a new planet. It was supposed that observation had been made on a known planet, when, in fact, they pertained to another and hitherto unknown body. This planet was named Pseudo-Daphne.*

The known extent of the zone of asteroids is very considerable, covering a space of more than two hundred and sixty million miles, besides extending very considerably in breadth or thickness. Several of them have almost exactly the same mean distance from the sun, and consequently the same period of revolution; and this circumstance would seem to indicate the possibility of their coming into collision at some time in

* *Astronomical Journal*, vol. v., p. 161.

the future; and there seems to be considerable probability that many such encounters have already taken place. Every one of these bodies is very small, and their masses must be equally small. Owing to these circumstances they can have but little influence on one another's motion, unless they come into close proximity, a thing that sometimes happens. Their motions will mainly be controlled by the attraction of the great central luminary, and the larger planets, especially Jupiter and Saturn.

Professor Newcomb found that three times the mean motion of Mars is very nearly equal to seven times that of Juno, and this relation gives rise to an inequality of long periods, and of considerable magnitude, which may be made useful in determining the mass of Mars. He has also discussed the question of the asteroids once passing through the same point. He selected four of the planets, Vesta, Metis, Hygea, and Parthenope, and his conclusion in relation to these negatives such a supposition.*

Several investigators, among them MM. Encke, d'Arrest, Littron, Madler, and Lespiault, have discussed the relations of the orbits of the asteroids, and arrived at some curious results, most of which we must yet class as accidental, while they are necessarily due to causes which exist in nature, though they may not yet be well understood. Some of the most important contributions to such discussions are, however, due to Professor Kirkwood. We have already referred to a close relation between the mean motions of Mars and Juno. Wherever such a relation exists between two planets not too remote from each other, it gives rise to a disturbing influence on each other's motions that is repeated for a long succession of ages, and thus the amount of the disturbance accumulates till it produces very marked effects. Professor Kirkwood has shown that such relations exist between the mean motions of Jupiter and certain *intervals* which exist between the mean distances of the asteroids. These intervals are easily ex-

* *Astron. Jour.*, vol. vi., pp. 65, 80.

plained upon the principle to which we have referred, and we may hence conclude that they are owing to the continued action of Jupiter through unnumbered ages.* These facts have an important bearing on the mode of genesis of the solar system.

Since the asteroids were not produced by the explosion of a large planet, we may ask how it did happen that so large a number of minute planets exist in the interval between Mars and Jupiter? We may not be able to answer this question satisfactorily in many years, yet we think that some progress has been made in the right direction. It is not a question that we can settle *a priori* without the aid of mathematical analysis, and even then the problem is so difficult that no more than an approximate solution can be obtained. By basing our reasoning on the nebular hypothesis, it is possible to see why the asteroids exist where they do, instead of some other place in the solar system.

According to the nebular hypothesis, the whole solar system was once an extensive nebulous spheroid, rotating in whole or in part around an axis. As such a body contracts its dimensions, its rotary motion is increased, and in course of time rings are abandoned from the equatorial regions, and these rings afterward break up and form planets. Professor Peirce has shown that the tendency of an exterior ring or planet is to sustain an interior ring beyond the otherwise natural time of its breaking up; and the more powerful the attractions of the exterior body, the longer will it sustain the interior ring *as a ring*. The powerful masses of Jupiter and Saturn are well calculated to prevent a ring, just within the orbit of Jupiter, from readily breaking up. Professor Maxwell has shown that waves would be propagated around such a ring, and their tendency would be to break the ring into many small bodies.† The original width of the ring must have been considerable, and, since it broke up into innumer-

* *Monthly Notices of the R. A. S.*, vol. xxix., p. 99.

† *Astron. Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 18; and *Prize Essay on Saturn's Rings*, p. 64.

able small bodies, instead of forming a single planet, it seems evident that they would be distributed over a considerable space. It may even be that several narrow rings were formed by the action of Jupiter, before the planets were formed. The eccentricities of the orbit of the asteroids are, as a rule, very great, and that is just what we should expect in the case of bodies formed as we have supposed, since they were subject to powerful disturbing causes.

In conclusion, we remark that several of the asteroids are distributed among computers who discuss the observations upon them, calculate the disturbing action of the larger planets on their motions, and prepare in advance ephemerides of them, for the use of observers, and thus facilitate the study of their movements. Yet, for all this, the asteroids are so numerous, and are increasing so rapidly, that a host of astronomers and mathematicians are needed who would be willing to do a great amount of tedious computing, in order that our knowledge of these minute bodies might be as perfect as required.

ART. III.—1. *History of the Jews.* By HENRY HART MILMAN. London. 1829.

2. *Histoire des Israelites depuis le temps des Machabées jusqu'à nos jours.* Par M. JOST. Paris. 1830.

3. *History of the Jewish States.* ZEO. Berlin. 1828.

4. *Les Juifs dans le moyen age; essai historique sur leur etat civil, commercial, et littéraire.* DEPPING. Paris. 1834.

[It will doubtless interest many of our readers to know that the author of the article of which the above works serve as a text, and which we are about to present to our readers, belongs to one of the most ancient of the noble families of England. She is the daughter of an earl whose friendship to this country is well known, and the lady herself is a still

warmer admirer of our people and our institutions. But the article is worthy of perusal on its own merits, especially for its extensive historical and ethnological research, although there is much more piety in it than we generally permit ourselves to indulge in for fear of infringing on the domain of those of our contemporaries who claim to be versed in the affairs of the world to come. As this lady has not authorized us to reveal her name, we cannot, at least for the present, be more definite than this. Suffice it to say that, having learned that Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, Mrs. Emma Willard, and two or three other of the foremost female thinkers of America have discussed subjects in the National Quarterly, her ladyship politely and modestly inquired whether she would be allowed to do the same. We reply in the affirmative, and the following paper, which speaks for itself, is the result.]

THE history of religious imposture affords a wide field of inquiry. How far, in given instances, physical excitement, or a distorted but sincere enthusiasm, may have modified imposture into self-delusion, is a question rather for theology than for history to decide, but the facts themselves, without reference to their ethical or theological surroundings, are exceedingly curious. The various persons who have proclaimed themselves Messiahs, and worked pretended miracles, often the commonest juggler's tricks, form a class of impostors peculiarly interesting. The delusion of the Jewish people, who believed in them until forced, by bitter experience, to withdraw their confidence in them, was invariably the result of patriotism rather than of religion, and thus gave a secular cast to the events that took place in consequence. The form of the imposture was mainly political, the end in view was a temporal restoration of power, and independence of a foreign yoke, and the medium used an insurrection, or, at least, an affectation of worldly pomp and state. The passionate longing for a renewed kingdom, such as Solomon's, utterly blinded the Hebrew race to the claims of a Messiah, who came in humiliation and suffering, and who, above all, recommended submission to

the Roman authority. The "kingdom not of this world" was, in their eyes, an impossibility, or, at least, a chimera. It is a fact worthy of notice that, before the coming of Christ, there were none who claimed to be the Messiah, not even in the days of the Maccabees; but, after his coming and death, these false Messiahs sprang up almost in every generation. His prophecy concerning these misleaders began to be verified in the first century after his death.

Before we give a short account of some of these deluded men, to whom, in so many instances, their nation owed the heaviest aggravation of their calamities, we will pause to see in what sense the Jews understood the prophecies which these men distorted to their own ends, and what was the gradual development of thought which made the repeated impostures partially and momentarily successful. The meaning of the Hebrew word, *Messiah*, is anointed; and, though referring in its primary sense to any one, king or priest, "anointed to the service of the Lord," soon came to mean inclusively the expected Prince of the Jewish people, to whom the prophecies pointed, and who was to redeem the nation from bondage, and accomplish God's purposes in their regard. The Greek word, Christ, is the equivalent of *Messias*, and is used in this sense almost throughout the New Testament. It was in this form the title was applied to Christ in the derisive inscription placed by Pilate on the cross. John uses the word twice, in its Greek form, "*Μεσσίας*" (i., 41; iv., 25). Christ's other name, which meant Saviour, was akin to the notion of a Messiah, and in the joyous cry of Hosanna, which means, "Save, I beseech thee," and was the acknowledged form of exclamation on any festive occasion, the Hebrew ear must have been struck with the etymological connection between that and the name of Jesus. Isaias, Jeshua or Josue, Ishi, Hosea, Hoshea, and Jesus, were all names formed from the same root, and all expressive of salvation or help from the Lord.

The Messianic passages in the Old Testament are, of course, very numerous, and each served later as the basis of some new interpretation of the Messiah's personality, his career, his work,

or his fate; but the Jews certainly did not fail in making them as numerous and, especially, as glorious as they could, for, in the later glosses and translations for the use of the synagogues, they rendered every prophetic word of exalted meaning, by the significant and national term, Messiah. Thus, the Chaldee version of the Pentateuch, known as the Targum of Onkelos, and referred by scholars to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, renders "Shiloh" (Gen., xlix., 10), and "Sceptre" (Numbers, xxiv., 17) by *Messiah*. The first of these two words is translated in the Vulgate, "He that is to be sent," and in the Anglican version is simply left untranslated, *i. e.*, Shiloh. One recognized meaning of the word is *peaceable*, or the *pacific*, which, coupled with Isaiah's prophecy (Is., ix., 6), would undoubtedly point to the Messiah; another possible translation is *rest*, and would equally apply to what was expected of the Messiah's reign. His being of the tribe of Judah was in this verse distinctly treated. A later Targum, on the Prophets, conventionally known as that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, points out thirty-one Messianic passages in the Prophets, and, as an eminent scholar attached to the British Museum, says, "brings them pointedly forward." "There is," he continues, "a decided polemical animus inherent in them (the commentaries of the translator), temperate as far as appearance goes, but containing many an unspoken word, such as a fervent human mind, pressed down by all kinds of woes and terrors, written and unwritten, would whisper to itself in the depths of its despair. These passages extol, most rapturously, the pomp and glory of the Messiah to come—by way of contrast to the humble appearance of Christ."

Then comes the most extraordinary part of this summing up of the Jewish interpretations, and one which, taken in connection with a modern Jewish theory that we shall have occasion to notice further on, shows the great ingenuity of the Jews in reconciling to their minds passages quite incompatible. Here is the sentence: "In all the places where suffering and misery appear to be the lot forecast to the anointed, it

is Israel to whom the passage is referred by the Targum." Although the prophecies as to the future deliverer are numberless, and began as early as the promise that comforted our first parents and was given to them in the same breath with the decree of a punishment, including their whole posterity, it is to Isaiah that the first clear and distinct intimations may be traced of the promise of the Messiah and the prospects of future grandeur which tended so strongly to mould the material character of the Hebrews, and keep them together as in a mystic and indissoluble band. Influenced by the splendid images of this coming reign held out to them by Isaiah, this hope sank deep into the popular mind and caused natural pride to appropriate all the advantages and glory which were to attend his coming, although (Isaiah, xlvi., 20) it was distinctly foretold that the Gentiles were to share in his benefits, and yet, by a consistency which should have struck his countrymen of better generations, the very prophet who most distinctly placed this hope before their eyes was also the originator of the idea of a suffering Messiah. Then came the "martyr age of Judah," the dissolution of the kingdom, the last visible stronghold of truth and the Captivity, almost the extinction of the people of God. A belief began to grow, which reached its highest point in Christianity, to the effect that the suffering of the righteous is not always a mark of God's displeasure. The idea of a suffering Messiah was rendered possible, even congenial to the Jewish mind.

But the rending of the two ideals was that which never seemed possible, and the craving for a temporal renewal of empire continued to blind the people to the spiritual regeneration and enlargement of the church which was to fulfil the triumphant part of the prophecies; and, although the divinity of the Messiah should also have been inferred from most of the prophecies, especially (Isaiah, vii., 14) from the name Immanuel, "*God* with us," and (Isaiah, ix., 6) the several names, among which is the "Mighty God," that are assigned to the child born of a virgin, yet this very truth proved their most serious stumbling-block. To a temporal

deliverer who should surpass all the other deliverers that their history had produced, they had every reason to look forward, for they had been schooled, since the earliest beginnings of their national life, to alternate humiliation and, singular, even miraculous deliverances. Their lawgiver, he who had, as it seems, penned their constitution and moulded them into a nation, had delivered them from an iron yoke, and all their judges had been, in some sense, political chiefs and emancipators. In Saul and in David, they had seen great conquerors, who had founded a kingdom on the ruins of neighboring states, and inside, the Jewish nation, respected and feared; in Solomon they had admired a prince whose empire had rivalled that of the great conquerors of history, had embraced the very desert within its limits and dazzled or intimidated all its neighbors, by its display of wealth and power. Several heroic kings had been given to them, among the many impious or weak rulers of both Israel and Judah, and lastly, even after the captivity, Cyrus had appeared as the universal peace-maker and the munificent protector of the chosen people. Again, the Maccabees had given proof of the undying vitality of the Jewish nation; the age of warrior-pontiffs had come again, the type of the Messiah, shown in David and Solomon, where they performed equally the functions of king and of priest, was forcibly presented to their minds; a new independence was won, and even Rome at one time treated with Judah as with an important ally and almost an equal power. The Temple, too, had repeatedly had its profanators and its avengers; the defilements of heathenism had been washed away in the blood of the faithless priests; even after the destruction of Solomon's Temple the very walls had risen again, and beauty and order once more had come out of ruin and desolation.

A new birth was no longer a marvel to the Jews, and in the eyes of the unenlightened there was no reason why the fall of Jerusalem under Titus should be more of a final and irretrievable calamity than that under Nebuchadnezzar. Indeed, their expectations were never bounded by what had been. It was not so much a restoration as a unique and undying

prosperity which was involved in their ideas of a Messiah. All former successes were but types of the future glory that was to surpass every thing that had gone before. Though it was to be chiefly a temporal kingdom, yet the expected signs of it were not wholly so. The later Jews, in their fervent imagination, hoped for the restoration of those signs by which God had shown his favor to them in the days of Moses, especially that of the pillar of fire which miraculously guided them in the wilderness, and of the cloud which rested on the tabernacle when the oracles were delivered. This visible sign of the presence of God in their midst, referred to in Isaiah, iv., 5, as to be renewed in the days of the Messiah, powerfully influenced their imagination, and under the name of *Shechinah* (a term used by the Chaldee translators of the Old Testament, in the early centuries after Christ, to denote the *presence*, *majesty*, or *spirit* of God, and subsequently identified with the glorious light within the cloud which rested on the tabernacle), was reckoned among the marks of divine favor which would distinguish the coming of the Messiah. The words relating to his second coming (Matthew, xxiv., 27) have at least a verbal resemblance to the prophecy of Isaiah. This term, which the interpreters, jealous of every thing that could seem to point to corporeity in God, used freely in place of the simple Bible expressions such as "He dwelt," "I will dwell," "Let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them," is entirely post-biblical, and occurs oftenest in the early Targums, particularly that of Jonathan.

It is strange that this very persistence, intended, as it was, to avoid the slightest approach to materialism, should have gone far to persuade Christian writers that there was among the Jews some knowledge of a trinity of persons in God. According to this theory the *Shechinah* is identified with the "Holy Ghost," the "Word of the Lord" (a term often used in the same Targum), and "the Lord" standing for the Son and the eternal Father. The subtlety of expression, which distinguishes the host of rabbinical writings in the middle ages, is apt to perplex the most laborious scholar, and give rise to any

number of conflicting theories, but, whatever may have been the secret love of the Jewish philosophers, which very likely they kept as entirely to themselves as the Druids and the priests of Heliopolis, it is very certain that the body of the people were constantly reminded of the corner-stone of their religion, the unity of persons in God, while, at the same time, the expectation of the coming of the Messiah, another intellectual and political lever, was also fanned and kept alive by the popular glosses and paraphrases on the Scriptures. Yet it was a maxim of the Rabbis that it was sinful and *accursed* to calculate the time of the Messiah's coming.* But what avails the interdict of a few learned men against the yearning of hope deferred, that is forever stirring to its depths the heart of a nation oppressed and enslaved? Over and over again they rushed on their fate, and cast their all on the miserable chance offered by some ambitious or fanatical popular leader. It may be interesting to recall a few of these instances.

One of the most remarkable of the pseudo-Messiahs was Bar-cochab, the Son of the Star; his title itself significantly pointing to Balaam's prophecy of the star that should arise out of Jacob. His great name was unknown. It was some time after the edict of Hadrian, A. D. 117, which forbade circumcision, the reading of the law, and the observance of the Sabbath, that this man appeared, claiming to be the Messiah. His chief credentials seem to have been the apparently miraculous power of breathing flames from his mouth, which a Latin historian † explains by the fact of his having learned a trick of keeping lighted tow or straw in his mouth. Basuage, without, however, citing any authority, believes him to have been a robber, and his knowledge of mountain recesses and of guerrilla warfare would corroborate this opinion. He really was a man of no common vigor and ability, and, whether by his talents alone, or by the help of other patriots, certain it is that this second Jewish war of independence was not at all unsuccessful. The Roman general, Severus, found it best to

* Milman's *History of the Jews*, iii., p. 366. † Florus, iii., 19.

act on the defensive, and reduce the province of Judæa rather by blockade and famine than by open war. The less reliable legends of the Talmud supply the rest of Bar-cochab's history. They allege that he gathered around him an army of 200,000 men, Jews and strangers, and was joined by all rebels to the Roman government, and all those proscribed by social or political laws. Dion Cassius states that, during the whole war, which lasted three years, from A. D. 132 to 135, there perished by the sword alone 580,000 men. The Christians alone, shocked at the impiety of the leader's claims, stood aloof, for which reticence, Eusebius, quoting Justin Martyr (nearly contemporary with these events), says that they suffered cruel persecutions from the robber-chieftain. Bar-cochab seized the ruins of Jerusalem and proclaimed himself king. These ruins were occupied by a motley population, living in rude huts set up amid the wreck of the city, but some kind of defences were organized, and from this central spot the victorious Jews made raids all through the country and gained possession of fifty of the strongest castles and nearly a thousand villages. No battle in the open plain was fought, but Jerusalem fell after a desperate attack (scarcely a siege), and, at last, Severus invested the last stronghold of the rebels, the fortified city of Bither. Here, say the legends, was renewed the scene of Moses's prayer, during the fight with the Amalekites. A holy man, Eliezer, prayed without intermission during the last day or two of the siege. The Jews, encouraged by his confidence, fought well and kept back the enemy; but a Samaritan, the hereditary enemy of the Jew (we know not how far it is safe to believe in this particularization of his nationality), undertook by treachery to silence the zealous Rabbi. He went up to him and whispered some indistinct words in his ear. Bar-cochab instantly demanded to know the import of his message; the Rabbi would not answer, and the traitor, pretending great reluctance, at last declared that it related to a proposal of capitulation made by Eliezer. The chieftain was so incensed that he commanded the latter to be executed. This measure dispirited and alienated his followers, and Bither

fell before long. The date was the fatal 9th of August, the anniversary of the double destruction of Jerusalem. Bar-cochab was killed, and his head carried in triumph to the Roman camp. His deluded countrymen changed his exalted title, "Son of the Star," into the derisive one of Bar-cosba, "Son of a Lie;" but with him the strength of the revolt melted away, no one took up the glove, and once more the ideal of Jewish independence became a myth. A circumstance that tended greatly to support the claims of this impostor was his recognition by Rabbi Akiba, the greatest authority for learning and holiness among the Jews of his day. Round his name legends have grown so thickly that the facts of his life can scarcely be disentangled from the fables that surround them; his people likened him to Moses, and the multitude believed implicitly in all his sayings. One of his order, however, R. Jochanan, answered him warily at a meeting where he had proclaimed the new-found Messiah. "Akiba," he said, "the grass will spring from the jawbone, and yet the son of David will not have come." After the fall of Bar-cochab, Akiba fell into the hands of Titus Arminius Rufus, the cruel Prefect of Palestine, who had him flayed alive.

The memorable scenes which happened on the occasion of the attempt to rebuild the temple are as household words to the Christian world; and, although Julian, the apostate, despised the Jewish religion as much as he hated Christianity, yet policy compelled him to flatter the Hebrews as well as every other people whose worship was opposed to that which it was his design to crush. The commotion among the Jews was great; contributions flowed in from all quarters; high and low tendered their help, proud to undertake the meanest offices in the work of rebuilding the national bulwark, the symbol of their temporal sovereignty, and Julian was extolled to the skies as the leader and regenerator of Israel. Some went so far in their profane and fulsome flattery as to style him Julian, the Messiah, but it is not to be believed that this was more than courtly language. As in the case of Cyrus, and later that of Mahomet, the instincts of the Hebrew

people refused allegiance to a prince of alien blood, and, eager as they were to profit by the benefits of their lenient masters, they reserved their right to look for a greater deliverer yet, sprung from their own race.

We hear of another impostor who, if not actually arrogating to himself the title of Messiah, claimed to be something equally miraculous. He called himself Moses, and announced himself as the successor of the great lawgiver and the heir to his wonder-working powers. He appeared in the island of Acte, in A. D. 415, or, as some chroniclers have it, in 434, and went about among his prosperous countrymen, persuading them to give up their farms and their business to follow him wherever the Lord should lead them, which, he assured them, would be toward a land of milk and honey. Many gathered to his standard; the ineradicable hope of a future kingdom induced even wealthy men to leave the substance for the shadow, and when the appointed time came, the false Moses led thousands of them to a bold headland overlooking the Mediterranean, which he had promised them would become as dry land before their feet. At his command, they threw themselves down, and were dashed to pieces on the rocks or drowned in the waters. Some Christian fishing-smacks rescued many, while, by their shouts and signs, the fishermen prevented the multitudes on the heights from following the example of their wretched comrades. The Jews turned to revenge themselves on their leader, but Moses had disappeared, probably not without having secreted some of the fruits of his imposture. This was an adventure in which none of the heroic elements of Bar-cochab's insurrection were mingled, but the people whom the astute Moses thus deluded were led away by a credulity not less excusable than that which had prompted the followers of the "Son of the Star." The difference was not in the people, but in their chief. This never-dying susceptibility to the belief of national reintegration through a heaven-sent Messiah stands in strong contrast to the proverbial prudence which characterizes the Hebrew race, and which, under a harsher name, has often arrayed the sympa-

thies of Christendom against them. It is, at least, a touching trait in their national character, and few will deny that, among the thousands of so-called Christians formed amid the influences of this practical age, not many can show a weak point so likely to win sympathy or to show that a living link still exists between them and the best instincts of humanity.

Toward the end of the fifth century, the laws of Justinian, very stringent against the Jews, caused, or at least aggravated, the animosity of the latter against the Christians, as well as against the civil government. The Jews and Samaritans coalesced, and, forgetting their differences, united in pillaging the possessions of the Christians round Naplous. From rapine, they soon advanced to open insurrection. They found a chief in Julian, by some called, like Bar-cochab, a robber; he appeared at the head of the Samaritans, but, whether he was one of that race or not, is not distinctly stated. He assumed the title of king, then of Messiah. The excitement of the people was too great in such moments to allow them to investigate claims so convenient as a party watchword, and thousands of malcontents flocked to his standard. It was only after a bloody battle that Julian was defeated and slain, and his forces dispersed. Again, the Jews suffered direfully for a credulity which had brought them in collision with the gigantic force of the empire; their punishment was as hard under the Byzantine rulers as it could have been under the Roman. Their indomitable belief in a deliverer, who might be expected any day, was, however, not crushed. The belief was as strong in the East as it was in the West. In 530, the precarious though stately rule of the Princes of the Captivity was well-nigh ruined by the rash enterprise of an enthusiast called Meir, who, pretending that a fiery column preceded his march, proclaimed himself the Messiah, and, with a small band of four hundred men, laid waste the country. The Persian king, the suzerain—if the anachronism be permitted for the sake of a convenient term—of the Prince of the Captivity, speedily suppressed the insurrection, but, rightly or wrongly, involved the family of the prince in the doom of the

rebels. Those were not the days of nice distinctions; and most oriental sovereigns, at all times, were apt to follow the rule that prevention is better than cure. The young Jewish prince, who clung to his shadowy rule and boasted his descent from the house of David, was a probable ally of the armed robber who more boldly proclaimed Jewish independence; at any rate, the intellectual power of the Jewish schools in Persia was dangerous, and was intimately connected with the pretensions of the princes. Kobad, the Persian monarch, did not scruple to hang Zutra, the prince, and Rabbi Chauina, his grandfather and guardian, the head of the schools. The Jews enjoyed a temporary success under the third successor of Kobad, Chosroes the Second, who, in 610, captured Jerusalem from the Byzantine emperor, but, notwithstanding the brilliant victories which his Jewish subjects chiefly contributed to win, the name of Messiah was not breathed in connection with him, for the same reason which precluded many another conqueror from those honors which the Jews reserved exclusively for one of their own race.

Persia was a fruitful soil for Jewish enthusiasts. Benjamin, of Tudeler, relates at length the insurrection and death of a pretended Messiah, David Alroy, a young Persian Jew. Disraeli has woven a beautiful eastern romance out of this story, and called it the "Wondrous Tale of Alroy." His adventures were altogether miraculous, but there undoubtedly was a foundation of truth for them.

All through the middle ages false Messiahs arose in every quarter of the globe. A curious treatise by John à Lent, "De Pseudo-Messiis," embodied in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, mentions one in Arabia Felix in 520; one in Syria in 721; one in France in 1137, and the next year in Persia; in 1157 one in Spain, and ten years later one in Fez. The XIIth century seems to have teemed with them, for another is spoken of in 1174 in Morocco; a learned scholar and great cabalist, David Almasser, whose science, far in advance of that of his contemporaries, no doubt helped him materially to persuade them of the truth of his claims. The same knowledge of physics and

mechanics, which too often earned for monks, like Albert the Great and Roger Bacon, the reputation of practising the black art, may have helped the physicians and scientists of the Jews to support pretended claims to supernatural gifts. For instance, such may be supposed to have been the case with the so-called miracle wrought upon one of the false Messiahs, who is said to have gone to bed a leper, and to have arisen the next morning perfectly healed and endowed with superhuman beauty.* The careers of all these were short, and their doings so mingled with fiction that it is nearly impossible to unravel fact from legend. Besides these men who actually claimed the Messiahship, there also arose others, who, like Moses of Crete, only called themselves great prophets.

A man named David appeared in the reign of Charles V., and said he had come from India, and was the brother of the "King of the Jews," who had sent him to negotiate an alliance with the emperor for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Sultan Solyman the Magnificent. Many Jews believed that God had sent him to lead them back to Palestine, but others, more sagacious, detected the imposture. He had collected large sums of money and made many proselytes in France and Italy; but, after a while, the bubble burst and he was forgotten. Another Jew, a Portuguese of the name of Solomon Molcho, took up the cause, and called himself the prophet of the movement; it was pretended that, as soon as he openly embraced Judaism (he was of a Jewish family lately become Christian), he became learned in the Cabala, and was suddenly endowed with superhuman knowledge, having been utterly illiterate before. Some such wonder was, of course, the necessary seal of every pretended mission. Charles V. at last threw both the impostors into prison as disturbers of the peace. According to the summary and rather indiscriminate justice of the age, they both suffered death, probably rather as civil than as religious offenders.

A more extraordinary claimant to Messianic honors arose

* See Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, iii., p. 366.

in 1666, a century later than those self-deluded prophets, and, as his influence was more lasting than that of most of his predecessors, and survived in two sects, the Hassidin, or Jewish Pietists, and their successors, the Zoharites, his career is worthy of a more extended notice. Sabbathai Sevi, the son of a poulterer of Smyrna, was born in 1625. He made rapid progress in the deepest rabbinical lore, and led a most austere life, often fasting for a week at a time, and bathing in the sea till his life was endangered. Yet his exquisite beauty was unimpaired, and it was affirmed that his skin exhaled a wonderful perfume. His fame increased daily, and he incurred the jealousy of the learned men. At length he began to preach and call himself the son of David, pronouncing, as a proof of his divine mission, the ineffable name, Jehovah, for which, through reverence, the Jews always substitute Adonai, *i. e.*, the Lord. The Rabbins denounced him to the Turkish authorities as guilty of blasphemy. He fled to a neighboring city, then to Egypt, and lastly to Jerusalem, where he stayed thirteen years.

Nathan of Gaza, an important proselyte of his, pretended to have seen the vision of Ezekiel, and to have heard from amid the cherubim and the wheels a voice calling Sabbathai Sevi, the Redeemer. Sabbathai, while on a mission to Egypt, found his appointed bride, whom the legends describe as a maiden of great beauty, and having herself been warned by miracles that she was to be the Messiah's bride. From thence he returned to Jerusalem, where he proclaimed himself the Messiah, and endeavored to teach in the Synagogue, but again the adverse influence of the Rabbins was too much for him, and he fled to his native place, Smyrna. Now began his triumph; he lived in royal pomp, styled himself King of the Kings of the Earth, overcame the rabbinical party, whose head he deposed, and was acknowledged as the Messiah by the vice-president. Presents and embassies flowed in upon him; he was openly called the Messiah; the Jews flocked to his court; poets arose, and a sort of religious phrenzy came upon the people, causing men and women to fall into convulsions or trances, and in that state to "prophesy" the truth of Sab-

bathai's mission. In Persia the Jewish laborers refused to labor in the fields, saying that henceforth they would no longer have to pay a tribute to the government; but the glory of the impostor was well-nigh past. He went to Constantinople to demand the Sultan's acquiescence in his claims, and in the latter's absence, dazzled and intimidated all the principal officials.

At last he gave himself up of his own accord, but in his honorable captivity still retained all his privileges and issued proclamations. One Nehemiah, who refused to believe in him and called him an impostor, was nearly massacred by Sabbathai's furious adherents, and only saved his life by announcing himself a mussulman, and claiming the protection of the government. Sabbathai was sent to Adrianople to confront the Sultan, who at once proposed to test his prisoner's claims by a simple ordeal. He would shoot three poisoned arrows at the Messiah, and if Sabbathai escaped unscathed, he himself would own his title. The other alternatives were instant death or conversion to Mohammedanism. Sabbathai's courage failed him, and he acceded to the third proposal. For some time he was able to sustain his double character—secretly a Jew, but a Moslem in public; and bearing also a moslem title of honor, he converted thousands of his own race to Islamism, but at last the Rabbins, who had persistently disavowed his claims, made interest with the Sultan, who had him seized and imprisoned in a castle near Belgrade. He died in confinement, but his followers gave out that, like Enoch and Elias, he had been transported in a mysterious manner out of the world beyond reach of death; and Nehemiah, his accuser, suddenly recanted and became his apologist. Sabbathaism spread more rapidly than during the fanatic's life-time, but the hearts of the people were so powerfully stirred that various theories arose as to still nearer realizations of the dreams of Israel than were held out by the promised return of Sabbathai.

A prophet of Smyrna calculated that the Messiah would appear in 111 ⅛ years, and in Africa the extraordinary belief gained ground that the Messiah would not come till all Israel were either holy or wicked. With quaint shrewdness, Michael

Cardozo, the originator of this doctrine, advised the Jews to apostatize to Mohammedanism, as to be altogether wicked was by far the easiest process. A hundred years later appeared Israel Baal-Schem, the Lord of the Home, or Israel the wonder-worker. He did not claim to be the Messiah, but he assumed unbounded spiritual power, especially to absolve from sin. He founded the sect of the Hassidin, a species of Jewish pietists, who, beginning by spiritualizing, or rather etherealizing their religion to the verge of insanity, speedily fell into the possession, and by the convenient fiction of ignoring the body and its necessities, gradually dignified sensuality with the name of innocence. In a word, they developed the principle so skillfully applied by the spiritualists of our day, that "to the pure all things are pure." Israel the wonder-worker, a native of Podolia, gave proofs of his pretended mission by much the same means as modern spirit-mediums, that is, by a simulated gift of insight and prophecy, which was subsequently discovered to be the result of an organized system of espionage, joined to great acuteness in reading the human countenance, and inducing men to make unconscious revelations of their thoughts.

Jacob Frank, a Polish adventurer, formerly a distiller of brandy, a clever, unscrupulous, ambitious man, without directly claiming Messianic honors, used this sect as the ladder by which he climbed to extraordinary success. He, too, lived in a style of oriental magnificence, travelled about in royal state, and lived in various places in Germany, with a retinue of several hundred beautiful Jewish youths and maidens. His wealth was as exhaustless as it was mysterious; the secret of it was never divulged. Carts of treasure were constantly being brought to him, chiefly from Poland; he went out daily in royal pomp to perform his devotions in the fields; he rode in a chariot drawn by splendid horses, and was attended by a dozen Hulans in red and green uniform, with pikes in their hands, and crests on their caps, eagles or stags, or the sun and moon. But his doctrine was not purely Jewish, and the Rabbins fiercely denounced him. Neither

was he a Christian nor a Mussulman, although he admitted the Trinity, and even some garbled version of the Incarnation. In Moldavia his followers met with misfortunes and were imprisoned, while he himself was confined in a Polish fortress, whence he was freed when the Russians took it. He died in 1791, and was followed to the grave by 800 persons. He rested his doctrine on the truth of the mission of Sabbathai Sevi, whose high priest he pretended to be, but he rejected the Talmud, and defied rabbinical authority, taking as the basis of his tenets the mystical book Zohar. Hence his sect was called the Zoharites. There is no mention of any pretended Messiah later than the last century, and it almost seems as if this particular form of imposture were growing every day more impossible, from the cool, remorseless spirit which, in our day, is so antagonistic to all manifestations of enthusiasm and, above all, from the progress in science which would make a pretended miracle so easy of detection.

We have alluded to a modern theory of the Jews regarding the Messiah, shadowed forth by the interpretation given by the Targum of Jonathan to the passages which indicate suffering and misery as the lot of the anointed one. If we have understood rightly, many of the reformed Jews of to-day consider Israel itself to be the Messiah, and the sufferings of the Hebrew race to fulfil the prophecies of the Scriptures. They believe in no personal Messiah, but that it is the mission of their people to spread and keep alive the truth of the unity of God, and in general the spirituality of all religion. Such, if we have understood the discourses in several synagogues of New York, is the theory of those who are no longer strict and orthodox Jews, but who are yet as distinct from Christians as they are from professed atheists. It is a striking theory, and involves scarcely less national pride than the time-honored expectation of a great Jewish prince and victorious chieftain.

Though we have, in these brief limits, only been able to trace outlines of this subject, one of the most interesting in the whole range of history, there is still one branch of it to which

at least a passing allusion must be made. This is the connection between the coming of Antichrist and a last belief on the part of the Jews that their Messiah is at hand. Christ's own words point to this (Matt., xxiv., 5, 11, 24, 26), and most of the fathers of the church consider that Antichrist will be born of Jewish parents, and of the tribe of Dan. This last particular is added by St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, and St. Irenæus, who infer it from two passages in Scripture (Gen., xlix., 17, and Jer., viii., 16), but how his genealogy is to be so accurately ascertained it is not easy to see, since the records of most Jewish families must have been annihilated during the repeated dispersions of their people and the intermarriages with Christians and infidels were doubtless too numerous to be counted. If any reliable family archives still bear traces of the old tribal divisions, it will scarcely be those of any of the ten tribes. Cardinal Gotti quotes St. Jerome and St. Cyril in support of his view, and adds that if Antichrist were not a Jew the Jews would never receive him as their Messiah. St. Alphonsus Liguori, in a little book called "Dissertations on Eternal Life," sums up the best received opinions of theologians on this subject. St. Cyril and St. Ephrem say that "in the beginning he will pretend to great sanctity, in order to gain the esteem of men, and particularly of the Jews, and will show great respect and attachment to the law, and particularly to the Jewish law and ceremonies; but, after being raised to the monarchy, he will despise every law and every act of religion."* The Jewish traditions respecting Antichrist are very curious. There are several rabbinical books which give a circumstantial account of him. Buntorf in his "Synagoga Judiaca," gives an abridgment of these traditions, in which Antichrist is called Armillus. He is not identified with the Messiah, but considered as the Messiah's enemy. A sort of forerunner of the Messiah is mentioned; Nehemiah, of the tribe of Joseph, who for a time bears the name of the "Anointed" and fights Antichrist, but

* St. Alph. Liguori, *Dissert.*, pp. 44, 45.

unsuccessfully. He is killed; and then the "true Messiah, the Son of David," is to appear, and to gather the Jews around him from all parts of the world. Antichrist and the Christians are confounded together, and made to appear as allies against the Messiah, and fire from heaven is then represented as coming down, while God bids the Messiah stay his arm and see what will be done to his enemies. Then Armillus and his Christian allies are alike exterminated by a sulphureous rain, and the Jews triumph over all the nations of the earth!

That the Messiah is emphatically *not* God, is shown by the tradition that he shall choose a bride of the house of Israel, and that, after his death, his posterity shall continue to reign over the Hebrews. This would point to a temporal restoration of the kingdom; yet, in another place, the ten tribes are represented as being led to Paradise, there to celebrate the wedding-feast of the Messiah, but the whole account is so confused that we must suppose it to have grown up out of the various and often irreconcilable myths conceived during the middle ages by the fertile imagination of an oriental people, under the pressure of misery and degradation. The most interesting point of this intricate and contradictory body of tradition is the distinction made between Armillus, the Antichrist, and the Messiah, "Ben-David," who is to overcome him. The birth of Antichrist is referred, by this account, to "a marble statue;" certainly a suggestion that savors more of heathenism than of Judaism, and which may be traced to the horror and hatred of the Jews for their Roman masters. If so, it would point to that part of the tradition as having originated at a very early period before the fall of Paganism, and when the myths of Greece were still vividly before the minds of the Jews.

Our own experience has shown that religious imposture and religious self-delusion are undying. If, even in our prosaic days, men have believed in the second advent, and left their substantial possessions to gather on mountain-tops, momentarily expecting the end of the world; if men and women, even at ordinary "revivals," have fallen

into trances, and sincerely believed that the contortions of their body and the inarticulate utterances to which they gave vent were signs of inspiration and "unknown tongues;" if Swedenborgians believe in the "angelic" visions of their founder, and modern spiritualists receive with blind faith the unconscious (or purposely deceptive) *revelations* of mediums whose morals are notoriously depraved, and pretend to communicate with the ghosts of all the illustrious dead of antiquity while they refuse belief to all points of Christian doctrine; if "latter-day saints" are ready to crowd after a leader who pretends to have had the original "holy book" committed to his care and interpretation, it is not wonderful that the Jews should have clung through all ages to one steadfast hope and been deluded time after time by false Christs and false prophets which the true Messiah sadly told them would arise to vex their spirits and lead them away. For every one that arrogates to himself what none may claim "save he be sent," whether it be simply religious authority or the power of working miracles and seeing visions, has something in line of the spirit of the final Antichrist, and has been in type included in that prophecy of Christ. In our days, we should take heed that the worst spirit of all, that of utter unbelief, do not overtake us, for it is more insidious, more alluring, and, in our age, more prevalent, than the grosser and more tangible forms of heretical temptation.

ART. IV.—*Catalogues, Inaugural Addresses, Circulars, etc., etc.*

IT is not our intention, in the present paper, to enter into any abstract or abstruse discussions. All we prescribe for ourselves is simply to note down our impressions—the results of what we have seen and heard—of various institutions which we have visited. If we are more antithetical, or indulge in more comparisons than the heads of some institutions may find agreeable, it is only because we wish to express our ideas

as clearly as we can. But, even if we do not succeed in being sufficiently lucid, we hope we shall be excused by the parties concerned, since we have the authority not only of Aristotle, Longinus, and Quintilian, for our mode of doing those things, but also the authority of some of the best educational writers of the present day.*

As we shall have more sketches than usual this time, and do not want even the curious reader to trouble himself with our views in regard to institutions to whose character he is indifferent, we will set over each sketch the name of the institution to which it relates, as follows:

MADISON UNIVERSITY.

For many years we have been in the habit of hearing favorable reports, from time to time, of Madison University, at Hamilton, in this State. But, soon after the publication of our last number, in which we took the liberty of giving our impressions of Rochester University, we received a pile of letters from various parts of the country, each of which assured us, in one form or another, that we should do the Baptists of America great injustice did we regard the latter institution as an exponent of their highest culture. "If you wish," writes one, "to see representative Baptist educators at their work, visit Madison University, and you may rely on your being afforded every facility to judge for yourself." "Do not blame poor Dr. Anderson's metaphysics," writes another, "and still less should you blame his ancient history." The fact is, that he does wonderfully considering the very limited opportunities he has had. If, to borrow a part of his own phraseology, he is a little "shaky" as an expounder of the laws of thought, he has a genius for financiering, at least

* Referring to antithesis, one who is himself a first-class educator, says: "It should, therefore, be occasionally cultivated. It sharpens the outline of the objects, *whether material or mental*, which are at the same time *compared and contrasted*, and makes an *impression of their relative character* more vivid than could otherwise be produced."—*Rhetoric: A Text Book for Schools and Colleges.* By Rev. Dr. E. O. Haven, Chancellor of Syracuse University, p. 114.—Harpers' Edition.

for securing large donations, which is almost "tremendous." A Rochester gentleman begins his letter thus: "The trustees of our University are shrewder than you might suppose. They know that Dr. Anderson has the faculty to raise money wherever there is any. They know, also, that he is a little vain, and wishes to be considered a great lecturer, especially on metaphysics; and, supposing he does commit a few laughable blunders sometimes, what of them?" A Rochester lady writes: "Permit me to say that Rochester University is a very good day *school* for boys; when our sons want more learning than they can get at Rochester we send them to Madison University, to Syracuse University, to Lafayette College, to Harvard, or Yale. Here, if you take the word of a lady for it, you have the whole truth in a nutshell."

In short, we could not hesitate any longer to visit Madison, although Hamilton is quite a distance from New York—twenty-five miles south of Utica. But we had only taken a cursory glance at the University buildings, its grounds, and the smiling village in the beautiful valley stretched out at its feet, and had a chat or two with intelligent villagers, when we felt that the pleasure that awaited us would amply requite us for our journey. Next morning we reached the University at 8 o'clock; we inquired what time the president arrives; the janitor told us that he is the first of all the professors to enter the class-rooms every morning. He made a brief pause after this remark, and then added, "You see that tall gentleman coming over there?" We reply in the affirmative. "Well, that's the greatest scholar in America—I mean the deepest thinker of all the Baptists. Yes, sir; that's Dr. Dodge, the president of Madison University. Now," he continued, after a little hesitancy, "tell me your name, and where you're from, and I'll introduce you right away." The president laughed heartily when informed, on the disappearance of the janitor, of the colloquy that had passed while he was approaching.

We had never seen Dr. Dodge before, or had any correspondence with him; nevertheless, he made us feel quite at

home in a few minutes. He was not the less cordial in his courtesy, or the less willing that we should see every department of the University at its daily work, because he had read some of our criticisms on educational institutions. His evident wish was that we should see as many classes and hear as many recitations as we could possibly attend. The president first conducted us to the chapel, and kindly invited us to take part in the services, which, we may be permitted to remark, were very impressive, and commanded the earnest attention of all the students, although a considerable proportion of them—probably half—belong to other denominations, and are freely allowed to choose their own, or their parents' mode of worship.

The service being over, Dr. Dodge introduced us in turn to all the principal professors, requesting, in each case, that we be afforded every facility for becoming acquainted with the system of teaching of the University. The first recitation we had the pleasure of hearing was that of Prof. N. Lloyd Andrews's large class in Greek. We can truly say that this proved to us a veritable treat. The text-book happened to be a German edition of the Greek Testament. Every verse, nay, every Greek idiom, was faithfully rendered. It was not the translation, however, that impressed us chiefly, inasmuch as the Testament is what students call "easy Greek;" but we were much struck with the readiness, and, in general, the accuracy, with which the students showed, under the direction of their professor, how the same words were used in classic Greek, what forms they assume in Homer, what forms in Plato, in Sophocles, in Xenophon, etc. Before accepting a seat at the commencement of the recitation, we begged that we should be permitted to retire in about a quarter of an hour, as our time was limited, but so much pleasure and profit did we derive from the professor's teaching, that we could not permit ourselves to move during the full hour devoted to the recitation. We were also gratified to find that Prof. Andrews is one of the few American Grecians who pronounce the language of Plato in accordance with the written accent, the great majority of

our teachers accenting Greek just as they do English or Latin.

We spent another pleasant hour with the Latin class of Prof. Oscar Howes, and heard a very spirited rendering of the ninth Satire of Horace (lib. i.)—that in which the poet so happily hits off the tribe of idle, inane talkers known in our day as bores. The translation of this satire was followed by the reading of a brief essay on Livy as an historian, which, although quite a creditable effort, was pretty severely criticised by the rest of the class.

It was also our privilege to meet the Rev. Dr. Spear, professor of Hebrew, who yields in enthusiasm and conscientious thoroughness as an instructor to none of his collaborators. Dr. Spear, like all who have mastered the Hebrew, besides having studied the principal classic tongues, regards it as a comparatively easy language, much easier than either the Greek or Latin, and for reasons which we have mentioned ourselves more than once in these pages, but which our limited space will not permit us to repeat here. Suffice it to say that no one studying for the ministry of any denomination—no student of comparative philology who hopes to accomplish any important results in that beautiful science—should fail to study the Pentateuch and Job in the original.

The chair of Dr. Dodge is that of metaphysics; he also lectures daily on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. Unlike his brother of Rochester, the president of Madison would occupy a high rank anywhere as a metaphysician. There is nothing "shaky" in the reasoning of Dr. Dodge; nothing crude; but much that is attractive, suggestive, convincing. In a word, the characteristic of Prof. Dodge that seemed to us most prominent, in the brief opportunity we had of judging, is the faculty of investing the most abstract topics with an air of novelty and interest.

We are obliged to pass over, in the present brief sketch, much that interested and pleased us in the class-rooms, and merely remark in general terms that, after having spent another agreeable hour between the library, the museum, and

the philosophical apparatus, we had gone to the hotel and were about to start by the next train, when one of the professors called upon us and informed us that six of the senior students were to compete that evening for the Lewis prize of $70; remarking that the orations of the young gentlemen might interest us as affording a pretty good criterion of the degree of culture they had attained. What we had already seen and heard had led us to form so high an opinion of the institution that we were easily persuaded to remain another night in Hamilton.

And certainly we were very far from being disappointed. Although it rained in torrents half an hour before the time appointed for the exhibition (May 21, 8 P. M.), the Baptist church of Hamilton, which is quite spacious, was densely crowded by an intelligent audience before the oratory commenced. The subjects are chosen by the faculty. The competitor who excels in rhetorical composition and oratory receives the interest on the Lewis prize fund of $1,000—that is, $70. On the present occasion the themes were, the Battle of Hastings, Reaction a Law of Progress, the Decline of Napoleonic Idolatry, the Place of Mahomet in History. Six students delivered orations on these—two having selected the Battle of Hastings—and the least we can justly say is that, although some of the competitors acquitted themselves much better than others, there was not one whose effort was not quite creditable, or who did not exhibit a wide range of research, and justly deserve the applause spontaneously awarded to him by the audience. In a word, since we are precluded from details, the most faithful comment we can add is, that we sincerely congratulated ourselves on having remained, if only because it afforded us an opportunity of bearing our humble testimony to the well-marked refining influence of the University on the inhabitants of Hamilton. This agreeable fact made so deep an impression on us that we could not help recalling, even while the students spoke and the audience applauded, of the beautiful and just tribute paid by Cicero to Philosophy (intellectual culture and knowledge), as a guide

of life, and, with the words of the eloquent Roman, we take leave for the present of Madison and its excellent instructors.

"O vitæ philosophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum! quid non modo nos, sed omnino vita hominum sine te esse potuisset?" *

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

The College of New Jersey, at Princeton, had the good fortune to secure a high reputation as an institution of learning, especially among the Presbyterians, when our people of all denominations had much more faith than they have now. How this happened it is not necessary here to inquire. For our own part we have been very willing to accept what seemed to be the general estimate. But circumstances have come to our notice from time to time, which struck us as entirely incompatible with the theory of its superiority; except, perhaps, in the matter of theology, which we do not pretend to understand. The first occasion of our misgivings was a book entitled "A Manual of American Literature; A Text Book for Schools and Colleges," which we took the liberty of criticising in an article entitled "The Puffing Element in American Literature." † That such a work should emanate from a professor of English literature and rhetoric, in a college claiming a high rank, astonished us; and we think we may add that no impartial, intelligent person who read that article denied the justice of our criticisms on the "Manual." Let those who doubt judge for themselves to-day; let them examine the grammar, the propriety, the honesty, and the truthfulness of the "Text Book for Schools and Colleges," and see how much it differs in these respects from the descriptive catalogue of an auctioneer.

We made no criticism on the "Manual," through any ill-will to the author. We had none whatever; nor have we now. We have never spoken or written to him, never seen him to our knowledge, so that we could have felt offended by him in any way. That we were equally free from all preju-

* Tusc. Quæst, v. ii. † *Vide* N. Q. R., No. LI., December, 1870.

dice against the College of New Jersey, we think our readers would bear us testimony. It is now nearly five years since we exhibited specimens of the materials of which the "Manual of American Literature; a Text Book for Schools and Colleges," is composed; and who can say that, in the mean time, we have uttered an unfriendly or disrespectful word against the College of New Jersey, or any of its professors? We were still willing to believe that, notwithstanding the execrable English and gross vulgarity found at almost every page in the "Manual," the college was entitled to high rank; although, as we have said, we had misgivings on this point.

Finally, we resolved, some weeks ago, to take a run down to Princeton. We did not announce ourselves as connected with any publication, but simply as a person interested in education. We had the privilege of conversing with several of the professors, including the Rev. Dr. McCosh, president of the institution; we had also opportunities of conversing with some of the shrewdest of the senior students. Our first impression was that the grounds seemed very low; rather suggestive of malaria; but, without our saying so, or even alluding to any such possibility, we elicited the assurance that the place is perfectly healthy. Our attention is next attracted by the buildings, which have rather a dilapidated aspect in the distance; nor do they improve much on a closer examination; although they prove to be strong enough, but somewhat out of order—looking as if the broom and the whitewash brush had not been used of late as freely as they might have been. It is proper to say, by way of excuse for Princeton, that we had still fresh in our memory the grounds and buildings of Lafayette College, which possess every advantage essential to an educational institution. We had also a vivid recollection of the Wesleyan University (Middletown), Syracuse University, Madison University, and Rock Hill College, for each of which nature, as well as art, has done so much. But we must confine our comparison to the two Presbyterian colleges so near each other; and, doing so, we must say that the advantages which Lafayette has over Princeton, in the respects mentioned, are incalculable.

We wish, however, that this were the point of view most unfavorable to the New Jersey institution in comparing it to its sister institution of Pennsylvania; but, if we may pretend to be competent to form a tolerably correct opinion of what constitutes a good college and a good location for a college, Lafayette is really as much superior to Princeton in intellectual as it is in physical advantages. We are quite aware that many would deny this, but, if we had sufficient time and space to explain why we think so, we venture to say that the majority of our readers would agree with us.

It would be very different, however, if they called on Dr. McCosh, and accepted his estimate of the New Jersey institution. That gentleman would inform them in the gravest manner that there is no college or university in England, France, or Germany, that has a higher standard than Princeton. There may, he would add, be a European college that can boast of one or two more thorough scholars among its students than Princeton can, for certain ethnological reasons. But, in all other essential particulars, the College of New Jersey is unsurpassed. As for any American institution being equal to it—the idea is preposterous; almost an insult to its present head!

At least, the chief information we received from Dr. McCosh was to this purport. But probably he regarded us as one of very large faith, for we tried to be as pious as possible, and, at the same time, as innocent of abstruse things. And yet how could the College of New Jersey stand otherwise than at the top of the ladder, since we are informed in the "Manual of American Literature; a Text Book for Schools and Colleges," of "the *extraordinary* executive ability which he (Dr. McCosh) has *there* displayed?" etc.* For once we agree with the author of the "Manual;" for, so far as we could see and hear, the "extraordinary" element—we might almost say the miraculous element—does exist in that direction. But it is somewhat different when we come to the passage in the same eulogy, in which Dr. McCosh is placed "on equal

* P. 572.

terms" with Aristotle, Plato, Kant, Sir William Hamilton, etc. This, we confess, rather staggers us; but, without attempting to show any other points in which Dr. McCosh differs from Aristotle, Plato, Kant, etc., we can honestly assure our classical readers that the idea which occurred to us most forcibly while that gentleman was seeking to impress us with the immense superiority of Princeton, under his auspices, to all other American institutions, is that contained in the following line of Menander:

"Οὐκ ἔστι τόλμης ἐφόδιον μεῖζον βίῳ."

Far be it from us to deny that there are good professors at Princeton. This is true, for example, of the Rev. Dr. Atwater. We are also assured that the Rev. Dr. Cameron is a good Grecian, and the Rev. Dr. Packard a good Roman. And certainly we are equally willing to do full justice to the merits of Dr. McCosh. Most cheerfully do we bear testimony to the fact that, when he was professor of logic in Belfast College, he gave the students of that institution all the logic they wanted—sometimes much larger doses than they bargained for. This was the highest position ever occupied as an educator by that gentleman before he went to Princeton. But it should be remembered that the Belfast institution is no more than a third or fourth rate European college. Compared to Trinity College, Dublin, it could only be regarded as a respectable preparatory school. The four so-called Queen's Colleges, in Ireland, of which Belfast is by no means the best, were designed for a class of students not qualified to enter old Trinity, which, it is well known, ranks with Oxford and Cambridge. The truth is, that there are several American colleges which are at least equal to Belfast; but we maintain that the College of New Jersey is not one of them. This is not the point, however. The question is, by what process of logic does it follow that, because a gentleman has occupied a chair in a third or fourth rate European college, the fact that the same gentleman has become president of an American college is *prima facie* evidence that that college casts all other American colleges and universities into the shade?

But perhaps the evidence exists in another form, for we have now before us a large pamphlet entitled, "College of New Jersey. Examination Papers," which was presented to us by Dr. McCosh, apparently with an air of triumph, as placing the point of superiority beyond dispute. We hasten to open the precious brochure, and find that it contains three or four passages from a Greek text-book; three or four more from a Latin text-book; then a large number of questions on ethics, philosophy, rhetoric, etc., etc., including some queer, characteristic ones by the author of the "Manual of American Literature; a Text Book for Schools and Colleges." In short, we find just such a display of extracts copied from school-books, and just such a mass of trite questions, as we found, three months ago, in the similar documents of St. Agnes School, Albany. Then, if Princeton is the most learned male institution in America, in virtue of its presiding genius and its "examination papers," it must follow, as surely as day follows night, on similar grounds, that St. Agnes is the most learned female institution in our much favored land.

CHRISTIAN BROTHERS' COLLEGES.

Since our last issue, we have visited two of the colleges of the Christian Brothers—those at Ellicott City, Md., and St. Louis, Mo. The president of each had promised us a hearty welcome; and most fully was that promise fulfilled, in one case, as well as in the other. Our readers have known for years what our estimates are of the principal educators of this fraternity. In all they undertake to do, we know none better or more faithful. On account of these estimable men, we were led, long since, to entertain a high opinion of the Christian Brothers, in general; and time has but convinced us of its justice. In no instance have we taken it for granted, however, that because a college or academy is under the control of the Christian Brothers, its standard of education must necessarily be high. We have judged all as we have found them, just as we have judged the institutions of the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Episcopalians, the Jesuits, and various other Catholic orders, male and female. To the

good institutions, of each sect and order, we have awarded most heartily the full meed of praise, and just as faithfully and fearlessly have we given our impressions of the institutions of each which, in our opinion, are of the opposite character.*

Of all orders or fraternities engaged in education, none observe the principle of the division of labor more fully than the Christian Brothers. It would seem as if their venerable founder had made the precept of Plato the corner stone of his educational system: "From these things," says the Greek philosopher, "it follows that more will be accomplished and better, and, with more ease, if each individual does one thing according to the bent of his genius, at the proper time, *being engaged in no other pursuit.*"†

* Thus, for example, no amount of kindness to us—no favors or benefits—could induce us to represent the Christian Brothers' College at Philadelphia as even approaching any of those of the same fraternity at New York, Ellicott City, St. Louis. But the Christian Brothers are not to be blamed for this. It is generally acknowledged that, although there are some good schools in Philadelphia, the standard of education in that city is lamentably low. It may be remembered that one of its best scholars wrote to us as follows a little more than two years ago: "In exposing the true character of the so-called University of Pennsylvania, you have earned the thanks of all friends of liberal education. * * * It stops the march of ideas precisely as locomotion is impeded by our long lines of mules and freight-cars, precisely as it *was* impeded by the old market-houses, and will be, for centuries, by the new public buildings. And the deadly influence of *this educational upas-tree*, this *School-kill* University is felt *in every class, in every school* in the city of Philadelphia."

The provincial of the Order was quite aware of this melancholy state of things, and sent a director to Philadelphia "the bent of whose genius" adapted him precisely to the place. Even the name of the Christian Brother provost was made to suit, being a Hebrew term which, in the original (בֹּכִי), means *Lamentation, Weeping*, although, in modern literature, it is associated only with the idea of an inspired navigator who has very justly filled the world with his fame. It seems that somebody has given Provost No. 2 a hint of the lugubrious signification of his cognomen; and that, in order to counterbalance its effect, he devotes his chief attention to getting up cheap concerts, pic-nics, etc.

† *Ἐκ δὴ τούτων κλείω τε ἕκαστα γίγνεται καὶ κάλλιον καὶ ῥᾷον, ὅταν εἰς ἓν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ, σχολὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἄγων, πράττῃ.*—*Republ.* ii., II.

In no part of the world in which the Christian Brothers are engaged in their good work has this principle been so completely, or so successfully, developed as in this country. It is in recognition of this fact that the distinguished educator, to whose genius that development is chiefly due, has been obliged, by the vote of his brethren in all parts of the world, to exchange the duties of Head Provincial of the United States for those of Chief Assistant to the Superior General, also to exchange New York for Paris as a place of residence, so that his present sphere of action as a superintending educator includes nearly half of the most enlightened countries of the globe.

It was this gentleman who from time to time selected the instructors for Rock Hill College, and the College of the Christian Brothers at St. Louis, as well as for Manhattan College, testing, in turn, the abilities of each by the results he had accomplished, until each college had an excellent, well-tried corps of professors. Nor did he confine himself to learned members of his order when there was not enough of them; and when requiring lay professors he employed Protestants as readily as Catholics; much more readily if he found the former better qualified than the latter. He was particularly careful in appointing a director or president, but he had the good sense to understand that, whereas one place might, for various reasons, require the best he could send, there are other places where an inferior one—that is, one inferior in education and talent—would do just as well, or perhaps better. Thus, the college, the academy, or preparatory school, the parochial school—every grade, from where the languages and the sciences are thoroughly taught, down to where only spelling and reading can be learned—have each at its head a Brother, whose position is precisely suited, to use the language of the precept above quoted, "to the bent of his genius."

We can assure our readers of all denominations and creeds that this observation applies with peculiar force to the Christian Brothers' Colleges of Ellicott City and St. Louis, as well as

to that of New York.* And these facts being understood and admitted, we are sure that there are none whom it is our privilege to address, from time to time, in these pages, whether they be Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, or Baptists, who will not agree with us that those colleges may justly claim to compete in friendly, enlightened rivalry with the best similar institutions of our country. In other words, there are no Protestants of any sect who would maintain for a moment that because those alluded to are Catholic colleges we should seek to place them in the back-ground in our educational discussions, and refuse to recognize those merits which are the results of so much patient industry, single-minded devotion, and faithful, indefatigable labor.

It has never been our aim to give the details of what we see at colleges, or schools. If we had even sufficient time and space to do so, it would be superfluous. Good teachers, thorough literary or scientific instructions, differ but little on account of latitude, longitude, or climate. The familiar adage, "there is no royal road to learning," holds good everywhere. It is particularly needless to enter into details when speaking of institutions whose general system of teaching and standard of education are almost identical. Then, there are none of our readers who are not familiar with the system and standard of Manhattan College. This institution combines, to a considerable extent, the advantage of the humanities and the sciences—of a literary college and a polytechnic institute. The same is true both of the Rock Hill and St. Louis colleges. At Manhattan College the Latin language is used colloquially—especially in the philosophy class—as well as in translation and written composition, and it is the same at Rock Hill and St. Louis. At the former institution the natural as well as the mathematical sciences are thoroughly taught with the aid of appropriate instruments, apparatus, and illustrative specimens; and the same is true of the two latter.

We might thus pass from one study to another at Manhat-

* Manhattan College.

tan, until we exhausted its whole curriculum, and we could not recall one which has not also its appropriate classes, at Rock Hill and St. Louis. The only difference we could see is that, upon the whole, more thoroughness and polish are attained at Manhattan than at either of its sister institutions. It is, however, but simple justice to the latter to say that this difference does not result from any superiority on the part of the instructors at Manhattan over those at Rock Hill or St. Louis. Indeed, at no institution in this country have we met better Romans (ancient) or Grecians, than at the two latter; and a similar comparison might justly be made in regard to the Rock Hill and St. Louis scientific professors. The difference we have observed arises, in our opinion, from local advantages, the Brothers having more resources at New York than either at Rock Hill or St. Louis. It is proper to say, however, that this reason would not apply to our Protestant educational institutions, in general, or to all Catholic institutions; for we have often found the best in the most secluded places—farthest from our large cities—and *vice versa*.*

The truth is that, when we visited Rock Hill, on the polite and cordial invitation of the Rev. Bro. Bettelin, its president, we had no idea of visiting St. Louis this year. The former we had visited, *in transitu*, several years ago; but it had then been established only a short time—not a sufficient time to develop its system. As it would have been unfair to criticise it under such circumstances, we gave our readers no account of our first visit. But the improvements in every department which we found on our second visit very much surprised us. This remarkable change prompted us, on our way back to New York, to resolve on visiting St. Louis also, remembering that we had been cordially invited, more than once, both by its present director and his predecessor, who is now provincial.

* In proof of this, compare Lafayette College with the University of Pennsylvania, Madison University with Rochester University, Harvard College with Boston University, or Rock Hill College with La Salle College. What a contrast in each case !

We may not mention the names of those of the Brothers whose teaching we regarded as excellent, for it is literally true of the best that his ambition is to be good in reality rather than seem good to the world.

"Esse quam videri, bonus malebat."*

But we trust we shall be guilty of no indiscretion in remarking that one of the lay instructors at Rock Hill, Prof. H. C. McLaughlin, is a very accomplished Grecian, for we witnessed an excellent rendering, under his direction, of one of the most idiomatic of Plato's dialogues. Some of our readers may be interested to know that Prof. McLaughlin is an old New Yorker; that his father lived and died there; and that our present deputy county clerk is one of his well-educated sons.

We took the liberty of remarking playfully to the Rock Hill Brothers that there seemed to be only one element of human happiness which they lacked. On their inquiring what this was, we replied, "The society of some of the daughters of Eve." "Yes," rejoined one, "we have great respect and esteem for the ladies, *but at a distance.* They may be greatly misrepresented by their husbands and brothers; but, from all we hear, we cannot but think that, instead of being an element of happiness in our community, they would be an element of discord and mischief." We could not altogether deny the force of this, but contented ourselves with the remark that, if the ladies are an evil, in our cosmos they are an evil which it would be very inconvenient to do without. Be this as it may, it must be admitted that in some instances an excellent dinner can be gotten up without the aid of the gentler sex; and, next to Manhattan College, nowhere have we found this fact more admirably illustrated than at Rock Hill; for we have not sat to a finer dinner at any hotel than that which awaited us, with an abundance of Attic lore, sparkling anecdote, wit, and humor, after attending recitations and other intellectual exercises, until we could attend no longer.

* Sallust *Cat.*, 54.

We can truly say that almost the only difference we could see between the Rock Hill College and the St. Louis College was one of location and buildings, in each of which the former has great advantages over the latter. No institution is more delightfully situated than Rock Hill. The College is a handsome and spacious granite structure, occupying an elevated position, and commanding an extensive and highly picturesque view; with the Patapsco River on one side, fringed by sloping uplands, and on the other side a series of hills, in parallel ridges, gradually rising in symmetrical tiers toward the horizon, but broken here and there, as if in wantonness, by deep ravines. The College has the advantage of ample play-grounds, which are adorned with just sufficient forest trees—including the oak, the maple, the chestnut, the silver poplar, etc.—to afford a grateful shade in the summer, without intercepting the refreshing breezes from the hills.

The St. Louis College lacks nearly all these advantages, being situated in one of the most densely populated quarters of the city. But the president has recently purchased a site for a new college, in one of the most beautiful and most eligible of the suburbs of St. Louis. The ground embraces twenty acres; it occupies an elevated position, two miles due west of the city, and has also the advantage of being in the immediate vicinity of the new park, which it is expected will soon rival our New York Central Park. We do not speak of the new site merely from hearsay, for the president kindly did us the honor of taking us out in a carriage to see it, so that we had an opportunity of examining it in all its bearings. The buildings are not yet commenced, but we hope they soon will. Surely, men who teach so faithfully and well, as the Christian Brothers—men who, unlike the Jesuits, their rivals in the educational field, scrupulously eschew politics, and make no attempt at proselytism, but devote themselves exclusively to cultivating the intellect, and imparting knowledge—ought not to be long precluded, by lack of funds, among a people so liberal-minded and generous as ours, from building a college that would afford them ample room, and appliances to carry

on their good work, in a manner commensurate with their wishes and efforts.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY.

Finding ourselves at St. Louis with an hour or two to spare before the train leaves, we conclude to visit the Washington University. Inquiring for that far-famed institution, we are answered by several small children, male and female, "Oh, yes; we'll show you; we're some o' the University scholars." This proved to be no jest. They got into one of the street cars; we followed, and, after a ride of about ten minutes, all are at the University. With some misgivings, we inquire in the vestibule for the president, but are informed, as we were in another celebrated case, "there is no such person." To this it is added, "the chancellor is the head man."

We wish it were in our power to give details, for the driest narrative of the scenes that await us would savor strongly of the ludicrous; but all we can make room for in the present paper is a few general remarks. The best conclusion we can arrive at, after having seen the various "departments" of the University is, that it is a huge public school, in which the teaching in its highest classes is greatly inferior to that of the public schools of Boston and New York.

In a business point of view, however, Washington University is highly successful. We doubt whether there is any other university in America that derives so large a revenue from its students, for be it remembered that the total number, as given in the catalogue before us, is 940. There is nothing strange, however, in this high figure, since it is well known that the large majority of those good people we call the multitude like to have a high-sounding name for the school to which they send their little ones; and we can bear testimony that the urchins themselves are tickled in no slight degree at finding themselves ranked, even while the "Reading-Made-Easy" is by no means "easy" to them, as "scholars of the University."

But let us not seem to depreciate an institution that bears the name of the great father of his country. Most cheer-

fully do we admit that the titles of the different departments constituting the University are happily conceived, and well calculated to strike the imagination. Let those who ponder on the following deny this if they can!—The Academy, Mary Institute, the College, O'Fallen Polytechnic Institute, Elementary School, Polytechnic Institute, Law School. The College of Music is not fully organized yet; it has proved very difficult to find competent occupants for the violin and trombone chairs; and it is admitted, even by the chancellor, that the University will not be entirely perfect until the College of Music is in full operation.

Now, we do not mean to reproach anybody, because, as closely as we could calculate, at least two-thirds of the "students," male and female, of Washington University, are children whose average intelligence is far below that of the children of the common schools of New England and the city of New York. What we find fault with is, the very high rank claimed for that institution; for, according to the chancellor, there is no department which has not a lofty standard. Thus, for example, even at St. Louis, it is asked, why is "Mary Institute" not called "Judy Institute," "Biddy Institute," or "Nancy Institute?" At the same time the chancellor proclaims to the world that, "It is already one of *the very best institutions* of the United States," etc.*

This, however, is but the smallest part of the glorification. The chancellor informs us, in very grandiloquent terms, that it is only in great cities like St. Louis that first-class universities can be expected to flourish. Some may think, he says, that Oxford and Cambridge, in England, form exceptions to this rule; but it is not so, "for," quoth our chancellor, "in proportion to their isolation *they have been provincial*, rather than cosmopolitan," etc.† A little lower down, in the same page, he says: "*In like manner*, Yale is the largest city in Connecticut, and they would make it larger if they could."

* See pamphlet entitled *Inaugural Addresses at Washington University*, St. Louis, February 29, 1872.—p. 26.

† *Inaugural Address*, p. 16.

From all this, and a good deal more of the same kind, it clearly follows that, if Washington University only gets money enough, the New England institutions must try to enlarge their little lamps, or be completely eclipsed. Ay, and the whole thing is wonderfully simple; in proof of the fact, we allow the chancellor once more to lift up his voice:

"Give us, if you please, and as you can, if you please, give us one million of dollars and grant us five years' time, and we will provide for St. Louis and its region *all the educational advantages of Harvard or Yale*, and some *greater advantages than they possess*. For, other things being equal, there is a *greater degree* of *vitality and freshness and individuality here* than *there*." *

Of course there is—greater everything! We have preferred to quote from the printed documents presented to us by the chancellor, rather than from his statements to us in conversation, for, did we present our readers samples of the latter, we should seem to accuse them, by implication, of gross credulity. We acknowledge, however, that there is some resemblance between Washington University and even the best universities and colleges we have seen; but we hope we shall be pardoned if we confess that it struck us as very much like the resemblance between the *Equus caballus* and the *Equus asinus* of Linnæus, as both the species have been described by Buffon. In order to enable the reader to judge whether we are right or wrong in this, in view of the citations given from the proclamations of the chancellor, we will extract a passage or two in the words of the great naturalist. Comparing the twain with each other, after the manner of Plutarch, Buffon proceeds:

"On donne à celui-ci (the horse) de l'éducation, on l'enseigne, on l'instruit, on l'exerce; tandis que *l'âne, abandonné à la grossièreté des valets, ou à la malice des enfants*, bien loin d'acquérir, *ne peut que perdre par son éducation*."

Further on Buffon undertakes to settle the status of the *Equus asinus*—claiming that he belongs to as ancient a fam-

* *Inaugural Addresses at Washington University*, St. Louis, Feb. 29, 1872.

ily, and has as well defined a rank in the animal kingdom as the *Equus caballus*:

"L'âne est donc un âne, et non point un cheval dégénéré, un cheval à queue nue, un étranger, un intrus, un bâtard ; il a comme tous les autres animaux, *sa famille, son espèce et son rang ;* son sang est pur, et quoique sa noblesse soit moins illustre elle est tout aussi bonne, tout aussi *ancienne que celle du cheval.*".

Just on similar grounds we admit that Washington University is like some of the universities, both European and American, to which its learned chancellor has so modestly and so sensibly compared it.

CLAVERACK COLLEGE.

To many it will seem strange, if not incredible, that we would go all the way to St. Louis in order to be able to judge for ourselves of the work done at the Christian Brothers' College, of that city. It has been even so, however. But we certainly have not gone from any lack of faith in the honesty of the Christian Brothers. Then some will say that our object has been to solicit favors. But the fact that we had enjoyed their patronage uninterruptedly for some ten years, so that we had no favors to ask from them, would set this allegation aside. Moreover, we had never been at St. Louis before; we had never found it necessary to go. We went, therefore, for the same reason that we had visited so many other educational institutions within the past four or five years, namely, the following: For some time when assurances were sent us, by correspondents in whom we had confidence, that particular colleges or schools were of a high order, we did not hesitate to believe that such was the case; and we spoke of them accordingly, or permitted our contributors to speak of them, as worthy of encouragement.

But very soon we learned, to our mortification, that this would not do. We are very unwilling to give instances, but it becomes necessary that we should mention at least one. We therefore proceed to say that, in the summer of 1869, we received strong assurances, accompanied by sundry documents and papers, that Claverack College was a highly meritorious

institution—one, in fact, that "had no worthy rival in this State." We had no reason to doubt that there was at least some truth in this, for, hitherto, we had never heard a word against the school, nor had we ever seen, or known any thing about, its principal or proprietor. Not supposing, therefore, for a moment, that we should do injustice to other institutions or any injury to the cause of education, we inserted some remarks in our September number* favorable to Claverack, and complimentary to its manager. In one week after that number was published, we had quite a shower of letters; some courteously informing us how egregiously we were mistaken; others gently remonstrating; while those of a third class protested; and yet another class charged us with wilful misrepresentation.

We forbear to quote from any of these letters, having no wish to do any injury that can be avoided. Suffice it to say that we were never more mortified, although fully aware that every intelligent person understands that there is no editor of a periodical or journal who is not liable, be he ever so cautious, to be imposed upon in a similar manner. We made no onslaught on Claverack, however, on account of it. We did not even allude in public to the storm it had brought upon our head; we contented ourselves with forming the resolution that we would never again commend any educational institution until we had first seen it at its work.

Several years after this we visited Claverack for the first time, and first saw the Rev. Mr. Flack, its president, and we gave our readers our opinion of both.† Even the observations we made on this occasion—while we had good reason to remember our former mistake—would satisfy any impartial mind that we had no disposition to injure Mr. Flack, or his school. Nevertheless, we were informed soon afterward, and many a time since, that the remarks we published in 1869, on

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* XXXVIII.

† No. LVI., March, 1874, Art. "Institutes, Academies, and Seminaries on the Hudson."

the representations of persons in whom we had confidence, before we had seen either Claverack College or the Rev. Mr. Flack, were sent about and exhibited, underhand, by way of demonstrating our horrible depravity in first "endorsing" an institution of learning and its president, and then making a diabolical "attack" on both!

Although this is not the only instance of its kind in our experience, it is sufficient to explain to the curious reader why it is that we have been so particular during the last four or five years, in giving no opinion of any college, academy, or school, until we had first seen it. As for the charge of depravity on such grounds, we should never have thought it worth while to notice it on our own account; but there are a great many well-meaning people, not altogether devoid of intelligence, who would not pause for a moment to inquire whether it is the description one gives of a place with a bandage on his eyes, while the friends of the place whisper into his ears "excellent," "superior," etc., which is to be accepted, or that he gives with his eyes wide open, when he can see how dreary and barren the place is in spite of a few scattered, half-withered flowers, and a faint patch here and there of whitewash, the effect of which may perhaps be heightened by a stripe of tinsel, or a piece of burnished brass, etc.

Those who reflect and are competent to judge on such subjects need not be informed that a school, or even a college in this country, may be a very good one this year and a very bad one four or five years hence, nay one year; for such are aware that frequently the character of a school or college depends on one, or perhaps two, of its instructors. Nothing is easier than to exchange a good professor for a bad one; and, since the latter is naturally willing to work cheaper—at least for a lower price—than the former, there is a strong inducement, especially when money is scarce, to turn a penny in this way. Then let us suppose that this year, while there is a thorough instructor in charge of the principal classes of a particular school, that school is commended as performing good, sound work, does it follow from this that a similar estimate should be

given of it next year, or years afterward, when cheap teachers have been substituted for the good teachers? Would it not be just as logical to say that because the grocer is commended this year for having furnished his customers good, pure butter, he should also be commended next year—that, at least, there should be no fault found with him—when it is evident that he has adulterated his butter with rancid lard, and other ingredients equally unsavory and unpalatable? And most cheerfully do we admit that for the same reason it does not follow that, because Claverack College did not seem to us very college-like when we saw it, or because we regarded it as vastly inferior to Fort Edward Institute, to which we compared it, it is so to-day. We hold it to be quite possible that it has greatly improved—become, in fact, quite an excellent institution. We should be sincerely glad to learn that it has, but we regret that thus far we cannot say that we have learned any thing of the kind.

HELLMUTH COLLEGES.

On our way from St. Louis we availed ourselves of the kind assurance given us, some time previously, by the Lord Bishop of Huron, that we should be welcome at any time to visit the Hellmuth Colleges, at London, Canada, of which his lordship is the founder as well as the patron and president. There was no other reason why Bishop Hellmuth should be not only willing but desirous that we, who had criticised so many colleges, should see his institutions, than the fact that he was conscious of doing faithful, thorough work as an educator; that he had faith in his own learning, faith in his professors, and faith in his system of education. There has not been one of this character at the head of any educational institution that we have cared to see, who, let his creed or his nationality be what it may, has not made us welcome and treated us kindly. We can say, without fear of contradiction, that we have not found a single exception, in Europe or America, to this rule.

It is often said that Englishmen are arrogant, or, at best, cold and formal to strangers, but we have ever found them

the reverse, and our readers know that we have always borne emphatic testimony to the fact. It is only those whom the English themselves call "snobs" who are supercilious and rude to foreigners. Educated Englishmen, or Englishwomen, are never so; on the contrary, there are no better specimens of gentlemen and ladies anywhere, in what we regard as the true significations of those terms, than the cultivated class of the sons and daughters of Albion.

It was no surprise, therefore, to us to be as courteously and cordially received by the Lord Bishop of Huron as we have been by the kindest and most hospitable of our own first-class educators. Nor was it any surprise to us to find that his lordship was just as ready to do us the honor of introducing us to his professors and classes as any of those gentlemen; for there is, at least, one Republic which Bishop Hellmuth and his professors recognize as superior to all other systems—namely, the Republic of Letters. Even the most humble connection with this, is to them—one and all—a sufficient passport to their courtesy and hospitality.

We regret that it is impossible for us to describe the Hellmuth Colleges in the brief space at our disposal in this paper, in a manner that would do them justice. The most we can do, is to glance at those of their peculiar features which struck us as most prominent. One of the two colleges is for young gentlemen; the other for young ladies. They are a mile and a half apart; and the male and female students are as much strangers to each other as they could have been had the two institutions belonged to different denominations. The male College, the nearest to the city, is about a mile from London; the female College about two miles. Each is charmingly situated on a conspicuous eminence, overlooking quite a variegated, picturesque landscape on every side. This is particularly true of the Ladies' College, in the immediate vicinity of which flows the "Thames," which, though not so large as the British Thames, presents much more striking evidences of a high antiquity, in the deep gorges it has formed in the granite hills, through which it pursues its

murmuring course. The young ladies can also see from their windows Westminster Bridge, St. Paul's Cathedral, and several other structures and places that derive their names from a sentiment—the love of the home of our childhood—which finds an echo in every heart capable of a generous emotion.

The young ladies have just as good educational advantages as the young gentlemen; the chief instructors of the former are as thorough scholars as those of the latter. In the first place, Bishop Hellmuth is a graduate of both Cambridge and Berlin. The Rev. H. F. Darnell, principal of the Ladies' College, is a Cambridge man of high scholarly rank, and an excellent instructor. Mrs. Darnell, his accomplished and amiable wife, is the lady principal; and it is evident that the students regard her as a faithful and affectionate guide—one scarcely less solicitious for their health, their deportment, and their general welfare, than the tenderest of their mothers. Mr. and Mrs. Darnell are assisted in their good work by a large corps of experienced instructors, male and female, including the Rev. C. B. Gillemont, of the University of Paris, who has charge of the French department.

It would afford us pleasure to give our impressions of the young gentlemen's College also, but, as lack of space utterly precludes us from doing so on the present occasion, we must content ourselves with saying to our classical readers, *Ex uno disce duos.* Just in the same generous, cosmopolitan spirit that all of our own first-class educators, including representatives of all religious denominations and orders—priests and monks as well as ministers of the gospel—whom it has been our privilege to meet under similar circumstances, have treated us, each in his own way, the Lord Bishop of Huron, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Darnell, did us the honor of driving us to London in his carriage, alighting at all places of interest in the neighborhood, for the purpose of enabling us to observe them fully; and, finally, when we could remain no longer, driving us to the hotel.

ELMIRA FEMALE COLLEGE.

Last spring we spent some pleasant hours in the class-rooms of Elmira Female College. We had never seen the institution before, but, being aware that there are not a few indifferent schools which are styled colleges, we cannot say that our expectations as to the standard of education at Elmira were very high. Generally, in such cases, we have realized the force of the beatitude, "Blessed are they that expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed." Here, however, we really were disappointed; but most agreeably. This institution is under the control of the Presbyterians; but it is not sectarian in any objectionable sense. Its students represent nearly all denominations, and most of the States of the Republic.

The Rev. Dr. Cowles, its president, had no hesitancy in affording us every opportunity to form a correct opinion of his system and its fruits. On the contrary, he evinced an earnest desire that we should see every department at its regular work. Like all other educators of his class, Dr. Cowles courteously accompanied us to every class. At those recitations which he thought would be most interesting to us, he sat down with us and kindly invited us to propose questions. He was even anxious that we should examine the Latin class; but the lady in charge of it had evidently done her duty so well, the translating from Virgil was so good, the young ladies were so modest, though not at all unduly timid, that we could not permit ourselves to take any more disturbing part in the exercises than to make some general remarks on the structure and flexibility of the Latin language, using the text, so well rendered, as illustrative of our remarks.

From the Latin class we were conducted to that of the Rev. Dr. Ford, in physical science. A very agreeable treat awaits us here; some highly interesting discussions which show that the young ladies are no tyros in interrogating nature. The exercise was more a lecture in the Socratic style than a recitation. In the hands of a good instructor, this mode of teaching is quite fascinating. Dr. Ford is very

expert at it, and, accordingly, the Elmira young ladies heartily enjoy it.

The departments of French and German are also conducted by competent teachers. Considerable prominence is given to art as well as to music; and, so far as we could judge by the testimony of our eyes and ears, both are thoroughly taught at Elmira. Dr. Cowles expressed his regret that, on account of the day of our visit being the beginning of a new term, although there had been no vacation, only a part of the classes had regular recitations. He wished particularly that we could wait to hear his own principal classes recite, namely, those in Greek, moral philosophy, and the fine arts; but we had heard enough, and had sufficient conversation with the president on the peculiar features of his system to feel perfectly satisfied that Elmira compares favorably, in every essential respect, with the best female institutions at whose recitations and examinations we have had the honor of assisting.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

Probably it was very wrong for us to allow our thoughts to wander from Elmira while we were thus sincerely pleased with its whole system; but for the life of us we could not help recalling, while passing from one class-room to another, the very different scenes we had witnessed at Vassar College, and some of the scenes described in the newspapers almost daily, and credited to the latter institution. In every important point of view, in which two colleges can be compared with each other, a contrast presented itself to our mind. We hope it is not our fault if, while sitting in the Latin class-room at Elmira, and ruminating, involuntarily, on the destiny of Vassar, we happened to remember the following precept of Anaxagoras:

"As in nature the seed of the hemlock plant will in time yield poison, so in morals the proceeds of any traffic that is productive of vice will produce vice."

When, several years ago,* we penned an article entitled

*June, 1869.

"Vassar College and its Degrees," we had not yet seen this apothegm; but, nevertheless, that paper will show to-day that our faith in beer, as a basis of female education, was in entire accordance with that of the Athenian sage.

It may be remembered how we were threatened with the newspapers. The broad sheets were to have overwhelmed us in their folds if we dared to criticise Vassar. We dared to do it, however, and quite fully; yet we still live. Those having charge of Vassar think that, because they can have long eulogies inserted in the newspapers throughout the country, they may give themselves but little trouble about the work done at the College. And, what is worse, it would seem, judging from the number of those of large faith, that they are not much mistaken in their estimate of the sagacity and discernment of the public. What have the mothers to say in this matter? What the fathers? What the brothers? Are young ladies sent to be educated in order to be placarded about in the newspapers as "the Vassar girls?" Are their minds, or their morals to be improved by being "interviewed?" Are excursions to West Point, and elsewhere, to witness "sham battles," etc., a part of the programme? But the reporters and "interviewers" talk loudly of the Greek and Latin, the science, the art, etc., etc., of "the Vassar girls;" and, perhaps, the name of the thing is all that is necessary!

Be this as it may, it must be admitted that there are some arts, if not sciences, or languages, which are learned to great perfection at Vassar. It seems that those most studied are the art of dressing and undressing, as often as possible in a given time, the art of eye-brow and lip painting, the art of laughing on the right key, the art of shopping in crowds—in short, all the arts and devices that combine to make a sensation among the vulgar, and to make even a heavy purse light. Accordingly the institution has been very happily described by a lady, educated at a very different school, as a sort of burlesque on Saratoga. So just is this comparison, that plain young girls, no matter how brilliant or gifted they

may be intellectually, have really but little business to Vassar. Such are soon impressed there with the false reasoning of Milton's Comus:

> "It is for homely features to keep home,
> They had their name thence; coarse complexions,
> And cheeks of sorry grain, will serve to ply
> The sampler, and to tease the huswife's wool.
> What need a vermeil-tinctured lip for that,
> Love-darting eyes, or tresses like the morn?"

We can honestly assure our readers that we have not made these remarks through unkind feelings toward any one connected with Vassar. We have no other motive than the sincere wish to be just to those who have deserved well of the public. The truth is, that the influence of Vassar on all schools within its range is like that of the University of Pennsylvania—that is, a "*school-kill*" influence. We do not allude to Elmira College as being among those which are thus affected by Vassar. Elmira is beyond its sphere, and is well sustained. But there are several excellent institutions on the Hudson which Vassar has seriously injured by its downright charlatanism. Those having charge of the beer money, not content, in their greed, with securing crowds of students for the College, but true to the precept of Anaxagoras, above quoted, have established a junior department for young children. Because, unfortunately, so large a proportion of the public have a blind fondness for display—preferring mere tinsel to gold—numbers have withdrawn their younger children, as well as their older daughters, from academies, seminaries, institutes, and schools, where every thing possible had been done for them, in order to secure for them the very equivocal name of being—"Vassar girls" (!).

SEMINARY OF OUR LADY OF ANGELS.

On reaching Niagara Falls, on our way from St. Louis, we are reminded of the flourishing Catholic college known as the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels, situated about two miles from Suspension Bridge, and twice that distance from the Falls. Hitherto we had never seen this institution, nor

had we met any of its professors; although we had been indebted for much kind encouragement, in our educational efforts, for years, from the Rev. R. E. V. Rice, its learned and liberal-minded president. We thought it highly creditable to all concerned that, among several Protestants of whom we inquired about the institution, there was not one who did not speak of itself and its faculty in terms of emphatic approbation.

At no time had Father Rice regarded us as a believer in Catholic dogmas; he was quite aware, since he saw the first number of our journal, that our heresy could not well be of a deeper dye. But he was not the less friendly to us on this account; nor had he the less welcome for us on the occasion of our visit. As our journal is a neutral ground, where all denominations may meet on equal terms, so the representative educators of all creeds honor us with their friendship and good-will. Even those of the Jesuits have formed no exception to this rule.

The Niagara institution is conducted by the priests of the Congregation of the Mission; but, were we asked what is peculiar in their "mission," we should have to reply that we have never inquired, not regarding it as any part of our duty to do so. We deem it sufficient for us to know that, under the auspices of Father Rice, the classics and the sciences, as well as English literature—all those branches constituting a liberal education—are carefully and well taught.

The Seminary has an extensive theological department; but it is not for us to speak critically on the manner in which instructions are given in hermeneutics, sacred rhetoric, canon law, etc. We do not pretend that our opinion on the subject would be of any value. But, so far as mere worldly knowledge, and the cultivation of the human intellect by human agencies are concerned, the Niagara institution compares favorably, in our opinion, with the best we have seen.

As for the situation of the college, it could not be surpassed in the wild grandeur and diversified beauties of its scenery. Whatever side of the buildings one turns, he sees un-

mistakable evidences of great convulsions of nature. Here is a yawning, huge abyss, which seems the work of a comparatively recent earthquake; a little farther on is a precipitous, deep, broad ravine, where the water appears to have struggled for untold ages. Between these two striking scenes rise bold, undulating uplands, adorned with forest trees, shrubberies, and cultivated fields. In short, the view from the tower of the College embraces more of the true sublime in nature than probably any *coup d'œil* in North America. This is true altogether independently of the great Falls, which, with their clouds of spray, are in full view, and which, of a calm day, are distinctly heard at the College, as the sullen murmuring of the ocean after a storm.

But our large pile of manuscript admonishes us that we must close our sketches for the present; although we have abundant materials which are yet untouched. We have ample and careful notes of what we have seen and heard at the *Western* University of Pennsylvania, Chicago University, the University of Michigan, and Hamilton College, as well as at two or three western female colleges, which we refrain from mentioning here, lest our doing so might annoy the ladies, young or old, connected with them. We will make no observation now which might forestall the judgment of our readers in regard to any of the institutions mentioned or alluded to. Suffice it to assure all concerned that we will endeavor to give our impressions of each in our September number as faithfully and justly as possible. If these impressions be very different, in one or two instances, from those which the public in general have been led to entertain, they will not be more different than they are from some of the impressions entertained by ourselves on the same subjects before we were able to avail ourselves of the testimony of our eyes and ears; although we were by no means sanguine in regard to the standard of learning in these particular cases. It is but fair to add that in another instance or two we had expected a high standard, and were not disappointed; and it will afford us pleasure to tell at the proper time wherefore.

ART. V.—*A History of the Character and Achievements of the so-called Christopher Columbus.* By AARON GOODRICH. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874.

THE present century has seen the reversal of many historical judgments; it has also witnessed many attempts to effect a change in public opinion, which have proved utter failures. Thanks to Carlyle, the Oliver Cromwell of to-day is a different character from his predecessor; and, although Mary, Queen of Scots, may not retain the sombre tints of Froude's picture, we are never again likely to regard her with that degree of affection and pity which she once commanded. On the other hand, the recent whitewashing of Tiberius Cæsar, who certainly needed several applications of the brush; to reconstruct Robespierre; and to present our old friend Lucrezia Borgia as an amiable, warm-hearted matron, have not met with like success.

The latest knight in this field of literature is one Aaron Goodrich, of St. Paul, who trots gayly into the arena, armed with the book whose title appears at the head of this article; "a single champion," as he himself says, "against a host of opponents."

The thesis he has chosen exacts the services of no carpet knight for its champion, and we fear Mr. Goodrich has miscalculated his powers. Whatever questions he opens, he certainly does not settle any, and although some of his statements may, perhaps, seem plausible, his book, as a whole, will probably soon sink from sight; while the author is, by no means, likely to prove the apostle of a new school of American history. So little fitted is he for his task, that, were every proposition his book contains substantially true, we think his championship would only damage the cause he advocates. So antagonistic are his views to intelligent public opinion, that we shall best examine his book by presenting a synopsis of it, working, as Sydney Smith once said a reviewer should, viz., "with pulp and essence."

Of his 380 pages he allots the first 140 to subjects which, he truly says, "may, at the first blush, appear irrelevant;" his first chapter is devoted to the architecture of the ancients, beginning with a dissertation on the Tower of Babel! This structure he believes to have been built for an astronomical observatory; the confusion of tongues being the diverse languages spoken by the scientists of different countries, who superintended its erection, and who, like scientists in all ages, were far from harmonious.* Next follow eight pages on the Great Pyramid, and detailed accounts of the ruined cities of Central America. Most of the matter contained in this part of the book may be dismissed without further notice; the geographical knowledge of the ancients, and the early voyages of the Norsemen, are familiar to all. One part, however, of this preliminary dissertation we will refer to at greater length, because it will enable us, at the outset, to call attention to one of Mr. Goodrich's most glaring *gaucheries*.

Aside from its use by the Chinese, the invention of the mariner's compass is generally credited to Flavio Gioia, of Amalfi (A. D. 1302). Mr. Goodrich, desirous of showing that it was generally known long before that period, has apparently devoted considerable labor to the subject, and presents us with the following instances of its early use: The first notice of it in European literature appears in an account of the voyages of the Norsemen, written about 1075. Over a century later, in 1190, the use of the mariner's compass is employed as a simile in a French satirical poem, a proof that at that date it could not have been recently invented, but was

* Probably these learned people belonged to the same sagacious tribe as certain scientists of New York, Hoboken, N. J., and Bethlehem, Pa. Who knows but there were gas companies at Babel, who wanted their gas analyzed for the public benefit! At least there must have been "meat extracts," if we are to believe Pliny and Buffon. Then there is a passage in Strabo that clearly alludes to something like a dental college that furnished great scientists to take charge of institutions like that at Hoboken, and prove that *light* is not darkness.

notorious and familiar. The passage from the poem, our author quotes thus:

> "The potent charm of the magnet
> Gives its impulse to the needle,
> Which then, cased and freely suspended,
> Set in movement unhindered,
> True and certain points to that star."

He gives us another allusion to its use under the date A. D. 1204, and refers us to the works of Jean Baptiste Riccioli for proof of its use by the French in 1226, and by the Norsemen in the seventh century. In citations from Arab writers he quotes the following from "Baïlak, a native of Kipchak, near Cairo:"

> "I was eye-witness, during a voyage from Tripoli to Alexandria, in the year 640, of the practice of the Syrian pilots in making use of the loadstone;"

and then follows a description of a needle fixed in a reed float, poised on the surface of still water, and always pointing north and south. Now, apropos of these quotations, we may take issue with our author for a fault which is of constant occurrence throughout his book; we mean a degree of negligence, which amounts to slovenliness, in giving, or, rather, not giving, his authorities. Whoever undertakes to overthrow a settled opinion by appeal to original authorities, must be extremely careful in guiding us to his sources of information, so that we may follow him in his researches, and, from an examination of a few of his quotations in the original, form a judgment as to how far we can trust him to weigh and sift the evidence to which he appeals. Where the authorities he refers to are rare books, or manuscripts, and such as his readers are not likely to know where to look for, he must not only give us chapter and verse, but must also indicate where they are to be found; in fact, in historical writing, as in the trial of a legal action, not only must the deed be produced, but its prior custody shown. What is Mr. Goodrich's method? For the first quotation given above, his authority is the "Landnamabok," vol. I., chap. ii. Where did he see this book? in what language was

it written? did he translate it? if not, who did?* The same remark applies to his second quotation. He refers to a poem, called "La Bible," by Guyot de Provins. Where is a copy of this to be found? what are the original words which he so poetically translates for us? So with the last instance we have given. Where did he consult Baïlak's book? was it an original manuscript or not? if not, who had republished it? in what language was it written? In the quotation he gives appear the words, "in the year 640;" does this mean "in the year of our Lord 640" or "in the year of the Hegira 640?"

Now, we have no doubt that the compass, substantially in its present form, was used at a much earlier date than was formerly supposed, and are quite willing to give our author credit for having quoted correctly; but he leaves us without any means of verifying his accuracy; and this fault, bad enough here, where exception is not likely to be taken to his statements, becomes much worse when he is arguing in support of views which are sure to be hotly contested. We would commend Carlyle's works to our author's attention; strongly, bitterly partisan though the Sage of Chelsea is, he never fails to give book, page, and place for every fact; dissent though we may from his theories and comments, he himself furnishes us with a means of testing his statements, which, if we avail ourselves of it, soon shows that in that particular we may rely upon him with perfect confidence.

With this glance at the first part of his book we may proceed to a consideration of its more especial topic, mentioning incidentally, that our author represents Queen Isabella, principally on the authority of letters, which he does not tell us where to find, not only as a bigot, but as an ostentatious, avaricious, deceitful woman, an unnatural mother, and an habitual liar.

The following are the leading incidents in the life of Columbus, according to Mr. Goodrich; the reader can com-

* Let it be remembered, too, that he seeks to overthrow a *popular* judgment; he is not solely taking issue with those whose studies may have made them familiar with the tools he uses.

pare them with his own recollections of any respectable history or biography, and thus perceive how great a task our author has undertaken.

After enumerating thirteen places which have claimed him as a native, he states that he was not born in Genoa, nor was his father a wool-carder, nor, in fact, was his name Christopher Columbus, or Colon at all, but Nicolo Griego; that he was not born in 1445, as generally stated, but fifteen years earlier; that for some years he was engaged in the Guinea slave-trade, although his regular business was piracy. "Such," says Mr. Goodrich, "is really all that can be gathered of the history of Christopher Columbus previous to 1485." In that year he was engaged in a piratical attack on some Venetian galleys; the ships took fire, the crews leaped into the sea, and Columbus, seizing a floating oar, reached the shores of Portugal. He proceeded to Lisbon, married, and, his wife's father having left some property in Madeira, took up his residence in that island. He had hardly been there a year when Alonzo de Sanchez, a pilot, who, driven westward by adverse winds, had reached the continent of America, was on his return shipwrecked near Columbus's new abode. He and his five companions were taken care of by the latter, and they "*all happened to die in the house of Columbus*" (the italics are our author's), who thus became possessed of their papers and charts.

Seeking to trade on the knowledge he thus acquired, Columbus proceeded to Portugal; but tried to drive so hard a bargain with the king that he over-reached himself, and had to seek elsewhere for a patron. Having become liable to arrest for debt and crime, he fled from Portugal, and made his first appearance in Spain A. D. 1487 (ten years later than the date usually given), where, after much higgling, he succeeded, with the aid of the Pinzon's, in persuading Isabella to countenance his expedition, stipulating for rewards to himself and his heirs, which were illegal and exorbitant. Our author denies that he made offers of his services to any other government than those of Spain and Portugal; and, as to the story

that Isabella pawned her jewels to fit out the expedition, he says such an expedient was unnecessary, as she had ample funds, and was never had recourse to; in support of which assertion he gives the English text of a requisition levied on the town of Palos to furnish the supplies, but, as usual, without any indication as to where we may find the original!

In his account of the first voyage he denies that there was any mutiny or desire to turn back and abandon the expedition; denies that, to encourage them to persevere, Columbus kept two logs, a true and a false one; states that Pinzon, who was the better sailor, finding that their course was too far to the north, urged Columbus to alter it, which the latter, from false pride, refused to do; alleges that he deliberately cheated Roderigo de Triana, who first saw land, of the reward offered by government; alleges that he knew perfectly well he was not in Asia, but, not finding gold ready to his hand, sought to delude his companions and his patrons at home with the belief that he was in immediate communication with the rich realms of Cathay and Zipango. He charges him with utter ignorance of seamanship; with a miserable exhibition of petty spite and envy against the Pinzons, to whom he owed his fortune; accuses him of incessant falsehood. With regard to the honors paid him on his return, he says they are a subsequent invention; the triumphal entry into Barcelona, a scene which adorns the bronze doors of the Capitol at Washington, he regards as apocryphal, on the ground that there is no record of it in the archives of Barcelona;* the celebrated motto:

"A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo mundo dio Colon,"

he says was never granted to him.

* He may be correct in this judgment; but there is more than one instance in which no record of past events can be found in the very place we should most expect to find it. There are histories of the reign of George II., which contain no account of the rise of Methodism; in Grafton's Chronicles of the reign of King John, there is no mention of Magna Charta; Marco Polo has nothing to say about the Great Wall of China; and the archives of Portugal contain no record of the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci in the service of that crown.

A further catalogue of our author's "historical corrections" is unnecessary. On the strength of his introduction of slavery he charges upon the unfortunate discoverer's devoted head all the crimes perpetrated by the Spaniards on the Indians, and he has ransacked Las Casas for the catalogue of them! He says that Columbus was utterly unfit for a position of command; that he treated the Spaniards with "brutal vindictiveness," and acted with such outrageous abuse of authority, and such open disloyalty, that, worn out with his incapacity, Ferdinand recalled him. Even in the grave he gives him no peace, and doubts whether his remains were ever accorded, by Ferdinand, an honored sepulture; were ever removed to Hispaniola, or thence transferred to Havana. He accuses him of hypocrisy, blasphemy, avarice, selfishness, subornation, of perjury, treachery, cowardice, and murder!

"We look in vain through his life for any trait or action that would endear him to the hearts of men; for one deed that may be regarded as the impulse of a great and noble mind, or generous heart; we find nothing but low cunning, arrogance, avarice, religious cant, deceit, and cruelty."—(p. 370).

Such is Christopher Columbus, according to Mr. Goodrich; the establishment of this view of his character is the task he has set himself—a very labor of Hercules. But, when we investigate his qualifications for the performance of this task, alas! for the vanity of human greatness, we find them meagre indeed. Even were his novel theory a correct one, Mr. Goodrich is by no means the man to prove it so. Where facts are established, enthusiasm may argue with success; when a case has to be built up from the foundation, it is out of place. To establish a theory against the weight of universal public opinion requires a mind eminently judicial, a logic luminously clear; these alone will prove of any value. Vituperation is the poorest course to pursue; the constant application of such epithets as 'nameless pirate,' coward, parvenu, hypocrite, etc., so far from adding any force to what the author has to say, only weakens his argument. Mr. Goodrich rails like a Billingsgate fish-wife; he does not calmly, suc-

cinctly, and clearly sum up the facts on which he asks our verdict.

We have already given several instances of his carelessness in citing authorities; where he has given his readers such an insight into his prejudices, he certainly cannot expect them to take his quotations for gospel truth, without an examination sufficiently searching to show how far they bear out his views. In his logic he is very weak; he mixes up the line of argument from cited authority and that evolved from his own internal consciousness in inextricable confusion; the statements "the Spanish archives prove," and "it does not seem possible to us," are so mingled together that it is hard to separate fact from fiction. At times his arguments are actually childish. Denying the truth of the story that on the first voyage the sailors, terrified at the storms and at their long journey into unknown seas, exhibited many symptoms of abject fear, mutinied, and would have turned back, he says that Columbus, who tells the story, could not have known of the mutiny, as he was the last person the sailors would have taken into their confidence! and adds, as to their supposed terror, "sailors, even when really alarmed and in imminent danger, * * * are too absorbed in their efforts to weather the storm to weep or tremble."—(p. 194.)

Insisting that Columbus was always the deluder not the deluded, that he was well aware he was not in Asia, and that in his descriptions of amazons, mermaids, men with tails, etc., he was making a lie out of the whole cloth, he says: "We do not see how one who pretends to have seen what never existed can be called *self-deluded*."—(p. 210.) We would recommend to our author a fair-minded perusal of the voyages of that period, in Hakluyt, and elsewere, if he wishes to see how men may be honest and "*self-deluded*." That was an age of earnest faith in the supernatural; of an intensely real conviction of the actual personal presence of God or the devil in every accident, scene, or incident. As Mr. Froude says: "Tides were the breathing of Demogorgon, and the idolatrous American tribes were real worshippers of a real devil, and assisted with

the full power of his evil army."* No wonder then that floating masses of algæ assumed the form of sea-serpents, and that tales of amazons and cynocephali gained ready credence. The present age will hardly accuse Raleigh of willful misrepresentation, yet his stories of El Dorado were as extraordinary as those of Columbus.

In support of his charge of profanity, Mr. Goodrich quotes from Fernando Columbus the statement that his father, when about to write, always tried his pen by writing the words, "Jesus cum Maria fit nobis in via;" and that his greatest oath was, "God take you for doing so and so." "To try one's pen with the words recorded by Fernando hardly suits the inspiration of genuine reverence, while the gentle oath, uttered with due vehemence, must have fully answered its purpose, and is vigorous enough to meet the requirements of the modern Anglo-Saxon!"—(p. 355.) Speaking of Columbus's blasphemy and hypocrisy, he refers to his adoption of the name Christopher, the *Christ-bearer;* it seems inconceivable how any one can have at all studied the literature of this period, and yet remain so entirely ignorant of the spirit of the age of which he writes as does Mr. Goodrich. In support of these charges he also instances the *familiar manner* in which Columbus speaks of the Deity; we would call his attention to his own illustrations on pp. 148 and 153, and remind him of the old Latin proverb: "*Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*"

In order to prove an important letter a forgery, he quotes from it the words, "in answer to a letter of yours;" no one, he says, would be likely to write thus; he might say, "in answer to yours of such a date," but not "in answer to a letter of yours!" Describing (p. 283) the imprisonment of Columbus, he says his fetters were riveted on by his own cook, with "readiness and alacrity. This little incident is not without import. Columbus might have been unpopular with the multitude, and yet a good man; but when we find his own domestics, who owed to him

* *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, p. 359.

place and living, and who would naturally be supposed to regret his downfall, rejoicing instead, we cannot but believe the man to have been thoroughly contemptible; the 'graceless cook' riveting the fetters militates far more, we take it, against the personal character of Columbus, than of his culinary menial!" Shade of Vatel! these be brave words, my masters.

From the above samples of his style, his logical acumen, and his historic genius, our readers may judge how fit a champion Mr. Goodrich is of the novel theory he propounds. Any thing, he says, claiming to dissipate incorrect opinions is likely to become valueless, through the distrust his book excites.

Finally, it is, as we think, conceived with an entirely mistaken idea of the Columbus of history and biography. It matters not that the early civilization of America came from Asia or Egypt; that this continent was known to the ancients, or that the Northmen landed on Cape Cod long before Columbus was born. These facts have been known to us for years, and we still associate Columbus with the discovery of our country. We do so because, whatever may have been the opinions of scientific men, whatever may have been rumored or handed down by tradition, he first stood forth and said, "Give me the means and I will sail out into the unknown ocean, and see what truth there is in these opinions and traditions." Granting that Alonzo the pilot first reached America, he did so against his will; Columbus came of his own motion. On this act rests his fame, and neither Mr. Goodrich nor any one else is likely to deprive him of it. The public does not look to him for the exhibition of saintly qualities; it regards him as a hardy, persistent mariner, who had within him the spirit to undertake a great risk, and, meeting with success in his undertaking, has a great reward. The attempt to disparage his every action, and to rake up every petty detail of his private life, seems to us not to belong to the field of true history; and even in that field we cannot congratulate Mr. Goodrich on his success.

We have given this book much more attention than might seem necessary, because there may be some readers who, familiar

with the frequent reversal of historical judgments, and, like the Athenians, always eager to hear or to tell some new thing, may give our author credit for better work than he has produced.

We cannot conclude without a brief notice of our author's illustrations. These are of three kinds. The first are portraits of Columbus, and, if correctly copied, as no doubt they are, certainly bear out Mr. Goodrich's statement that there is no correct likeness of him extant. Those he gives would never be taken as intended to represent the same individual. He has also reproduced a few cuts from De Bry's Las Casas and similar sources, which are welcome; but most of the illustrations are of his own production, and are "fearfully and wonderfully made." Thus we have, on p. 162, "Columbus, escaping from the burning galleys;" the foreground of this cut represents a lonely, rocky shore decorated with an enormous sign-board, bearing the words "to Lisbon"; in the background appears a ship in flames, from her main-truck floats a piratical ensign as large as her fore-top-sail, bearing the traditional skull and cross-bones; while in the middle distance, floating on an oar, is seen Columbus himself, *monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens!*

So it is throughout the book; we have Columbus, always grotesquely portrayed, sending to the Grand Khan a letter as large as a carpet-bag (p. 202); making his crew swear that Cuba is Asia; having an interview with the Deity (p. 328); kicking Moxica from the battlements of a castle, whose stately walls might rival Ehrenbreitstein in the days of its pride. Without the slightest trace of art, too coarsely executed to serve as effective satire, they are the most extraordinary concomitants of a book purporting to be a history which we have ever seen. Why the author inserted them, we are at a loss to conceive, unless he had some idea that his work would become a text-book for a kinder-garten, and that the cuts might serve as a series of object-lessons to warn the rising generation of Americans not to cherish an unholy admiration for that "nameless pirate," Nicolo Griego, "the so-called Christopher Columbus."

ART. VI. — 1. *An Expostulation, etc.* By W. E. GLADSTONE.

2. *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk.* By J. H. NEWMAN, D. D.

3. *The Vatican Decrees and Civil Allegiance.* By HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster.

4. *Vaticanism: An Answer to Reproofs and Replies.* By W. E. GLADSTONE.

[It has always been our rule to exclude sectarian discussions from this journal, and it will so continue in the future. In the present instance we may seem, at first view, to deviate from our regular course in this respect; but it will be admitted, on reflection, that such is not really the case. The discussions excited by the Vatican Decrees belong quite as much to the domain of politics as to that of religion; in other words, they have as much reference to the affairs of earth as to those of heaven—indeed, rather more; for is it not the worldly element in those decrees which has caused all the excitement which the authors of some of the above pamphlets have sought to allay?

That we are not among the believers in the infallibility of the Pope or of any human being, we need hardly say. Nor is this the only Catholic dogma which we never have been able to accept; but we do not the less esteem intelligent, honest Catholics on this account. Our readers of all creeds know that our feeling in regard to the Catholic Church is that, whatever its errors are, it has a strong claim on modern civilization, if only for what it did in the Middle Ages for the preservation and cultivation of knowledge. Our Protestantism has never been of that sombre type which would prevent us from acknowledging that some of the noblest and most enduring intellectual productions in literature, science, and the arts, are the works of Catholics. Did we attempt to disparage these works on account of the religious faith of their authors, we should feel as much ashamed of our reasoning

faculties as if we attempted, on similar grounds, to disparage the priceless intellectual legacies left us by the Pagan Greeks and Romans.

A Catholic clergyman, who is as liberal-minded as he is scholarly and eloquent, being aware that such are our views and feelings, asks the privilege of addressing the most enlightened class of his Protestant fellow-citizens through our pages; nor do we hesitate to accede to his proposition. We are all the more willing to make room for his views on the Vatican Decrees and the manner in which they have been interpreted and criticised by Mr. Gladstone and others, from the fact that he presents them in a mild, conciliatory spirit. For the rest, we allow the good father's discussion of the points at issue between the Pope and his critics to speak for itself.]

THE discussion of religious questions is usually regarded as a work of partisan feeling rather than an effort to examine, with intellectual impartiality, diverse views of doctrines, or principles of belief and practice, with the purpose of discovering wherein lies their truth, and how far they may be accepted as causative of good in human society. It is noteworthy, indeed, that, on account of the admirable liberty, with respect to religion, so happily enjoyed in our country, there is ever a deep interest manifested by the great body of the people in any religious question that is of sufficient importance, when publicly debated, to arouse the broad spirit of religiousness which pervades the land. Not many Americans there are who disclaim all sympathy with religious habits, or principles, or professions. Liberal as may be those who claim to be mere rationalists and disbelievers in the ordinarily accepted view of revelation, yet it requires but the introduction of some essential doctrine or dogma of the most anciently professed or strictest type upon the platform of public discussion, to awaken a keen appetite for its examination, either in a spirit of inquiry, or in a spirit of hostility, either to weigh and justify its claims, or reject its pretensions. That there is a very deep religious sense in

the American character is evidenced most clearly, even by the innumerable forms of expression in which its vitality and exuberance are manifested.

And, although the intensity of bitterness with which religious rancor is found rife in some parts of the old world, does not exist here, yet, there is what may be termed bigotry, in a milder sense. Indeed, it is yet scarcely possible to entirely disinfect the community from this moral plague. Strong conviction, with sincerity, will necessarily produce bigotry in ill-informed, uneducated minds. The best, the only antidote against bigotry, is education, knowledge, science. Yet, unfortunately, men pretending to be scientists, but who really are sciolists, perpetuate religious animosity, whilst professing to dissipate the clouds of that baleful element. Such are those who would have us believe that they detect antagonism between religion and science, when every well-educated man, both in science and in religion, can discover no traces of such antipathy, except in the fancies of those who have not been deeply initiated in the former, and who have no just estimate of the true value of the latter. On the other hand, there are multitudes of religionists who have no real religion, and who correspond to the class above referred to outside of religion. These two classes are the real obstacle to the universal acceptance of the doctrine which teaches our natural reason that, between science and revelation, properly understood, there can be no real antagonism. In all sects and bodies of religious persons, representatives of these are sure to be found. They are the bigots, who, holding intolerable and intolerant ideas of God, abandon the principles of human love and human forbearance, and propound the theory, which, fortunately, they are powerless to enforce, viz.: that souls should be led to God by means which human sense of justice finds abhorrent, ungodly.

But these fanatic aberrations are not the rule. The cardinal principle of the Christian, if not of all religion, is the supremacy of conscience above all form of law and creed—the sacred monitor of God, in man, whose dictate must be obeyed in

all cases where morality is concerned. And this is generally the accepted proposition among us. How it has been misunderstood, misinterpreted, falsified, need not be repeated here. The studious reader will recall the many events in history, when the same question, lately agitated in England, the question of the claims of the Catholic Church, was fiercely contested, openly debated by weapons in many instances sharper and heavier than pens. Only black liquid flows in England to-day in the contest concerning the papal claims, the Roman aggressions, the attempted usurpations of a church claiming universal domination. Perhaps it is well that the policy of this church should be thoroughly and frequently discussed. She never objects to examination of her claims. She boldly proclaims them to the world. She has no *arcana*, as she had in the early years of her struggling existence. She shrinks not from the most positive assertion of what she insists to be her rights, her prerogatives; and, if she fearlessly announces her mission and object in the world, neither does she expect exemption from an equally vehement opposition from the elements of hostility which always have been, and ever will be arrayed in contradiction to her. She accepts the proposition of the Master, who said that He came "not to bring peace but a sword," who brought a fire on the earth, and what would He but that it be kindled? But she interprets this to mean that the sword thus entrusted to her mighty grasp is the sword of justice, truth, righteousness, which she has to wield to the end of time against the vices opposite to these virtues. Such is the position which the Catholic Church takes, or, if you will, professes to take. Nor has there been for centuries one at her head who has been so thoroughly filled with this conviction as the present Pontiff, Pius IX.; no man who has drawn upon himself officially so much hostility from the opponents of the church, and who has personally rendered himself so much esteemed by its friends.

Now that his years draw to a close, and his combats must soon have an end, history will have occasion to judge of his character and his position before the world with more impar-

tiality than is accorded by his contemporaneous opponents. The opposition of his enemies will be softened by his absence from the scene, and the admiration, in many cases feigned, at present, of his friends, will be moderately modified by his not being in a way to bestow any more favors upon them. He is now looked upon by many great ones of the world as a man who is at war with human progress, and especially with human freedom. In the turbid policy of newly-organized Germany there is developed an open warfare against the office and duties of the Pope, which no person can misapprehend. The German empire, as represented and expounded by Prince Bismarck, brings forth all its moral and material force to restrain the internal mechanism of the Catholic Church, as authoritatively interpreted by Pius IX. That the church as an organization having, for the reason of its existence, an end to whose attainment the state never presumes to be competent, should claim the right to choose means suited to this end, and adopt means calculated to secure it, does not seem incongruous when its right and title to exist are once granted. To this the German chancellor objects, and insists on the point that he shall overrule the Pope and the decisions of the church. If it be asserted that he may not possibly possess the requisite knowledge, the needed qualities of character and disposition, which would make him a fit director of the Catholic Church, it is answered that he has the power to enforce by physical means that which should be reached only by moral suasion. In a word, to any philosophical mind, the contest now being carried on in Germany between church and state is but a repetition of what has periodically taken place in every age, but in different forms—the contest of a moral power with a material force—and there is not much difficulty in determining which is more endurable, which will conquer.

In a milder form, and more compatible with the spirit of an enlightened age, the same question has been lately opened in England by the eminent statesman and philanthropist for many years at the head of the British government. His pamphlet on the recent developments of doctrine and discipline

in the church created quite an intelligent inquiry into many points in her history which had long lain dormant, after wasteful and angry discussion in past periods. This is not at all to be, nor is it, regretted by the friends of the church, as the event has resulted in evoking much desirable information previously not generally diffused, either among Catholics or Protestants. It has directed the attention of the first minds in the church to the task of explicitly evolving into determinate propositions the important decrees of the late Vatican Council. Were it not for this discussion, many erroneous views might be taken of the canons, dogmatic and disciplinary, proposed and established in it.

This latter point may be considered of paramount importance in itself and in its bearings. One example of its necessity will not be regarded inappropriate here. When it was declared in the Vatican Council, and decreed as an article of faith binding upon all members of the church, that the "Roman Pontiff, when he speaks from his chair of teaching (*ex cathedra*), that is to say, when he, in the exercise of his office as pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic power, defines a doctrine on faith and morals as to be held by the universal church, by virtue of the divine assistance promised to him in St. Peter—possesses that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed His church to be furnished in the definition of a doctrine respecting faith and morals"—when this was accepted as a part of the sacred deposit of revealed truth, it became evident that it would be the subject of much discussion, both as to its extent, limits, and comprehension. And the late discussions which sprung up so vigorously in Europe have given determinate meaning to the words of the definition. That many among Catholic theologians would give a wide scope to the sense of the decree, a scope entirely unwarranted, was certain, and we actually find it in the place where all would be most likely to look for it, viz.: in the teachings of the Jesuits.

Thus, Father Franzelin, a Roman professor, would extend the authority of the Pope to questions of natural science, his-

tory, etc., as we find in the Dublin Review, vol. xvii., No. xxxiii., new series, pp. 258, etc., for July and October, 1871. As he says, Principle vi., Cor. A. :

"Although philosophy and the other natural sciences rest on their own proper principles, which are known, so far as they are known, not from revelation and the authentic magisterium of the church, but by reason, and from natural sources; nevertheless the magisterium of the church can, and indeed ought, from revealed principles, point out errors, etc., etc. Principle VII. The Holy See may prescribe or proscribe theological opinion, or opinions bearing on theology."

The extension of the Pope's teaching power so widely, as is here demanded for it, is what was feared by those in the Vatican Council, who regarded it as inopportune to declare at that time. And truly, if the claims here set up for it were valid, or logically deduced from the premises in the words of the decree, there is difficulty in seeing how any thing in the way of science should be exempt from the judgment of the Holy See. This would certainly lead to complications not desired by the church, or expected by the Holy Father. Moreover, in the same place, the same writer goes still farther, and more explicitly asserts pontifical supervision over all sciences. For he says, *ibidem :*

"Hence it follows immediately that the infallibility promised * * * reaches to the whole extent of the deposit to be guarded, that is, to truths even in themselves not revealed, etc."

Such a self-contradictory proposition as this needs no refutation for the intelligent reader. But he proceeds :

"* * * Facts, again, of themselves, historical, etc., certain special dispositions of divine providence pertaining to the better state and government of the universal church; *e. g.*, if there is question of the opportuneness or moral necessity of political independence and temporal dominion in the case of the supreme Pontiff, etc. So it is equally certain that in most sciences as they are and ought to be cultivated by mankind on principles purely natural and from sources non-revealed, in philosophy especially, theoretical and practical, in history, ethnography, geology, etc. * * * the church's magisterium, therefore, teaches truths of this sort, and may infallibly judge of errors of this sort."

This method of stating and interpreting the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope was adopted, soon after the prorogation of the Council, by a certain number of extremists such as are always hanging on to every community, religious and political. To them the words of Dr. Newman referred, when he said in his letter to the Duke of Norfolk, p. 4: "There are those amongst us * * * who have stated truth, in the most paradoxical form, and stretched principles till they were close upon snapping." In order to show the value of the late discussion in England, concerning this and kindred topics, the eminent theologian now referred to, declares the exact doctrine with regard to the extension and limitation of the Pope's judging power in its subject matter. At page 149, in the same letter, he writes concisely that "the church has the office of teaching, and the matter of that teaching is the body of doctrine, which the Apostles left behind them as her perpetual possession." Again, in p. 155, "as a definition of faith must be drawn from the *Apostolic depositum* of doctrine, in order that it may be considered an exercise of infallibility, whether in the Pope or a council. So, too, a precept of morals, if it is to be accepted as dogmatic, must be drawn from the moral law, that primary revelation to us from God." Hence, the unlimited range which the Jesuit would give to papal authority has been confined to its sphere by more exact, and more universally-admitted theology.

So, too, we find an equally explicit limitation asserted for the prerogative of infallibility by an eminent divine of New York,* in a lecture delivered in Cooper Institute, in December last, where he said: "but not only is his teaching authority limited by these, etc., * * * but even in the domain of truth itself, in the mere natural order, for instance, of physical science, of jurisprudence, of political economy, of the mechanic arts, of mathematics, of astronomy, of history—(in a word, of a thousand things, etc.)," he is restrained from pronouncing infallible or irreformable decrees. Nobody is bound to submit to them.

* Dr. McGlynn.

This, moreover, is now fully confirmed by Bishop Fessler, who was secretary-general to the Vatican Council, in his work on "The True and False Infallibility of the Popes," p. 67. Here he expresses the whole truth in very few words, viz.: "The Pope, in his doctrinal utterances, only speaks what he finds, under the special divine assistance, to be already part of the truth revealed by God necessary for salvation, which He has given in trust to the Catholic church (*i. e.*, in the divine *depositum fidei*)." This work received the special approbation of the Pope himself, in the form of a congratulatory letter to the author. From this it will appear, and, of course, theologians are more conversant with the fact, that the warm and sometimes inflammatory discussion raised in the Christian world has been productive of much good in the Catholic church, by developing clearly and definitely some of those doctrines concerning whose nature the discussion arose.

Before proceeding further in examining the entire question under its general aspect, it may be well to refer to a second topic which has been most happily elucidated by the progress of the discussion. This is the relation of the church with the civil power. There is no doubt that this, practically, has been, at all ages, a point from which proceeded many unpropitious events and many serious embarrassments both to church and state. But the thoroughness with which it has been explored during the past five years, has scarcely left any thing to be said upon it to those who have been anxious for true enlightenment.

In the Catholic system, as laid down by its best and most authoritative expounders, "civil society has God for its Founder. It was created potentially in the creation of man, and from him has been unfolded into actual existence. * * * To the civil society of mankind, supreme authority is given *immediately* by God; * * * and *mediately*, or *mediante societate*, to the person or persons to whom society may commit its custody and its exercise. When once the supreme power or sovereignty has been committed by any society to a king, or to consuls, or to a council, as the case may be—for God has given

no special form of civil government—though it be not held by those who receive it by any divine right, as against the society which gave it, nevertheless, it has both a divine sanction and a divine authority." In this paragraph we have the substance of all that the Catholic church teaches with respect to the nature of civil society and its authority. And the right of resistance to unjust exercise of this authority is clearly laid down. "The civil ruler is for the defence of the people, but if he should make war upon the people, the right of self-defence would justify resistance, * * * the right is undeniable." To simplify a statement of Catholic doctrine on this head in few words, more plainly than the above, is not possible. Nature and the laws that spring therefrom are at the basis of Catholic principles with respect to the relations of subjects and government. And all the imagined difficulties which were gathered up in Mr. Gladstone's "Expostulation," and hurled against his Catholic fellow-countrymen as being unreliable subjects of the Crown, he has the mortification to be obliged to withdraw in his "Vaticanism," p. 14, where he says, "the loyalty of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in the mass remains evidently untainted and secure." Yet it either was not evident to him before his discussion, or he did not think proper to admit it. Certainly his pamphlet did not effect in the hearts of the Catholics of England, in the short space of a few weeks, so great a transformation as to make them wholly reliable and loyal, if they had not been so before.

In this country there are those who give utterance to like accusations against their Catholic fellow-citizens. Mainly amongst a certain grade of religionists is this ungrounded opinion entertained. Educated, unprejudiced minds are far above the abject state of mental and moral obliquity of those who permit their religious fanaticism to obscure their judgment so deeply as to lead them to the maintainance of unwarranted accusations against their countrymen, merely on account of difference in religion. But the great body of all peoples being led by prepossession, rather than guided by reason, we must expect false notions to prevail in general over

true judgments, that is, wherever religious antipathies overrule impartial reason.

To make general charges against a society which is placed, by its very nature, and by the character of its office, in a state of opposition to the passions and inclinations of the world, is not very difficult for those whose love of the world may supersede their love of the objects of such a society. The church requires, first of all, in her members, a readiness to place highest in their estimate, the obligations of conscience. Well-ordained law of the state, whether the state be Christian, or in the merely natural order, claims the respect and obedience of conscience. Law being an ordination of reason to an end, as such work of reason there can arise between it and any other act of reason, natural or supernatural, no opposition. This Catholic teaching of natural theology lays down, in so many propositions, that it is sure that, when the contrary is charged to her, the premises upon which she bases her doctrines are simply ignored. As revelation supposes the integrity of nature, and, as revelation has been given only to perfect and beautify that which already existed in its entirety, so there can be no opposition between the obligations of the natural reasonable conscience and the conscience enlightened by revelation. When difficulties do arise, so-called, between conscience and revelation, we may be sure that it is a counterfeit of the latter that is found to be in hostility or conflict with the former, or, *vice versa*. True philosophy and logic exclude the possibility of its being otherwise. When, therefore, we hear it generally or wildly charged, that obedience to decrees of the church, or to mandates of its head, clashes with obedience to human reason or rational authority, as Catholics, we feel an innate consciousness of the hollowness of the accusation, and regard it as an inevitable result of the perpetual hostility to which the church looks from the world, or else we repeat what has been repeated from the first, with constantly-varying modulation, that our position has been misrepresented.

If more positive evidence of this were needed, we have it very amply afforded by the spectacle presented to-day in Ger-

many. And the outcry of Mr. Gladstone, in England, is but a repetition of what has been proclaimed in all past ages of the Christian Church against her assumptions. When Dr. Newman asserts that his conscience is above any utterance which might come from the Pope under certain circumstances, the great politician answers by styling it a smack of Protestantism. This may possibly be. Belief in God may also smack of several phases of Protestantism, yet it is not the less a Catholic doctrine.

But the great point which has been proclaimed to the world by the late and continued controversy, is that the church proclaims her independence of state control—spurns indignantly state coercion, both in doctrine and discipline. This accords with what one of her most formidable, because one of her most logical and philosophical opponents, the celebrated Compte, wrote of her when he said:

"If the conflicts between the two powers (spiritual and temporal) which abounded so much in the middle ages are duly examined, it will be found that they were almost (always?) defensive on the part of the spiritual power, which had to contend, and did contend nobly, for the independence which was necessary to the discharge of its mission."—*Compte's Positive Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 262.

It may subserve the interests of truth to reproduce here what the same distinguished author expressed of Protestantism:

"It is another mistake to suppose that the opposition to human progress is more attributable to modern Catholicism than to Lutheranism, which in its English or Swedish, or any other form, is yet more hostile to progress, *having never proposed to be independent*, but even instituted from the beginning for perpetual subjection."—*Compte's Positive Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 322.

And, truly, if Christianity is what it pretends to be, if its claims have a basis in its being directly instituted by Almighty God as a system and body of religion, for the purpose of teaching unalterably certain dogmas and certain principles of morality, it must be above human will and human authority. To depend upon the authorization of the State in any manner and to any extent for the integral development of its form, is a proposition which the Catholic church can never accept

as reconcilable with the complete freedom of which it has a consciousness of being endowed by its author. But in this it is limited by the necessary limitation of its office to the teaching of doctrine and morals. And, as this teaching is external, requiring human means for its utterance, so far is it a material agency, and hence it demands freedom from state supervision. The acceptance of dogma is, indeed, an internal act. Not so with its inculcation, which is a repeated exercise of outward deeds. To control the inward acts of man is, indeed, a metaphysical impossibility which the state cannot presume to attempt. But religion, not being absolutely restricted to the interior acts, seeks utterance, which must claim equal exemption from restraint, whether in words, or in actions, or ceremonies. Here is the difficulty which the church at present finds itself confronted with in Germany, as it did in ancient times with the laws of the Roman empire. And it is surely not a proof of fidelity in those professors of Christianity who are found claiming for the state the right to supervise the expression and teaching of dogma. This is conceding to it the right to occupy a sphere of duty to which, in principle, it never aspires, but into which it is drawn by the ambition of political partisans.

And it is very surprising that statesmen, not having ever had any sympathy with the church, should feel so deeply aggrieved at the steps taken by the late Vatican Council in proclaiming the dogma of papal infallibility. They have always entertained a jealous fear of the influence of the church, they have had misgivings and grudgings against her power over the human mind, and it can hardly be said that it was their love for her and their desire for her welfare that led them to proclaim an intensified hostility to her since 1870. Does this spring from some unknown fountain of love for the safety and perpetuity of the church? Is it not reasonable to doubt the sincerity of unbelieving philosophers, when they tell us that the doctrines of the church have been perverted by those who claim the only commission given to teach them. And, as to the infallibility of the Pope, we will give the impartial and

critical testimony of the profound thinker referred to a little before, Compte, who writes in vol. ii., Principles of Positive Philosophy, p. 268: "The papal infallibility, which has been regarded as such a reproach to Catholicism, was thus, in fact, a great intellectual and social advance."* This was said long before the dogma was explicitly decreed in the Vatican Council, and by a man who cannot be regarded as a partial witness.

But the object of this paper is to show that the discussion lately raised against the claims of the Catholic Church in England has been started on a false issue, occasioned, perhaps, more by a misapprehension of the nature of those claims than by a spirit of hostility to truth. Indeed, the replies which Mr. Gladstone's "Expostulation" called forth from the able representatives of the church in England, admit his sincerity whilst gravely questioning his accuracy and discretion. And the dying echoes of the polemic and diatectic storm leave no reason why the advocates of the claims of Rome should regret the fitful gusts that for a time threatened devastation where they have excited only a little turbid feeling with much desirable intellectual activity.

Not so, however, has the controversy proceeded in Germany. There the politician and the philosopher count for much less than the soldier. The old struggle of the church endeavoring to free itself from the interference of the state appears to be revived with all the bitterness which characterized it in the days of Hildebrand, when the doubtful policy of the church in earlier ages, with respect to the union of spiritual and temporal interests, began or continued to develop the evil results of such a union. That the aspiration entertained for so many centuries by the popes of the universal submission of the nations to the church, aided by the instrumentality of the the Holy Roman Empire, was a dream never to be realized, because sought for by inordinate means, we may fairly conclude. "*Non tali auxilio*," did Christ promise success to his apostles. He did not advise them to seek the might of the

* Harriet Martineau's translation. Grübues & Co.

sword and the battle-axe, to acquire for his doctrines universal empire over the conscience of man. And, notwithstanding our admiration for her unflinching constancy in maintaining the entire deposit of faith entrusted to her, we may not be debarred saying that perhaps some of her troubles come from not having mastered this lesson yet. It would appear that, upon the Continent of Europe, in general, neither churchmen nor politicians comprehend that mutual independence which church and state enjoy in the English-speaking world, and which is found admirably adapted to the peace and progress of both.

Whether the disturbed condition in which the church finds herself at present in Europe will eventually tend to her advantage as a consolidated body, is a question which time and Providence alone can solve. But, no matter what may be the opinion of the absolute wisdom of Pius IX., as regards some points in his policy, it is certain that the church has had an eventful period of history under his reign, and it must be acknowledged that, if the triumph which he anticipates for her as quite near does come to pass, it must be through some of those miraculous interventions which are believed to have rendered her victorious over more formidable foes than are now arrayed against her.

ART. VII.—*New Indictments, New Decisions, and other Documents and Proceedings, etc.*

ALL over the world the public has a bad memory; but it often seems as if the New York public had no such faculty at all. If our good people have a memory it is one that takes no warning, or that learns no useful lesson from experience. Not but they become sufficiently excited when they find they have been robbed. For a certain time after the discovery is made they yield to no community in the world in loudly evincing their indignation. About one-third of our whole

population proclaim themselves reformers, and solemnly assure all whom it may concern that corruption and fraud are at an end. There are to be no more wolves or vultures; neither the sheep, nor the goats, nor the geese, nor even the fat turkeys, have any thing to fear in the future. There will be no fleecing—no plucking!

But what is, perhaps, the most remarkable phenomenon of all, is that not one out of fifty pause to inquire whether those giving such fine, comfortable assurances may not be wolves or vultures themselves. So little do the great majority concern themselves with questions like this, that one who has proved himself to be a wolf of the most insatiable appetite is quietly allowed, when forced to retire himself from the sheep-fold, to put one of his wolf friends in his place, so that he too may fatten, grow strong and sleek, and, when he finds himself sufficiently intrenched in his den, become more and more ferocious and daring.

In thus drawing an illustration or two from the animal kingdom, we are reminded of a curious account given by Baron Cuvier, the great naturalist, of a family of four wolves whose habits he had carefully observed in the valley of the Rhone for six months, the authorities having undertaken to protect the brood during that period for the benefit of science. It would lead us too far from our subject to notice all the contrivances of which the members of this interesting family availed themselves in their predatory excursions. Suffice it to say that what most attracted the attention of the naturalist was the fact that there was one of the four animals whose regular daily business it was to watch for the others while they carried on their depredations among the lambs, calves, foals, etc. If any of the human species appeared on the scene this worthy member of the family barked and howled furiously, sometimes gathering up mire, and even pieces of carrion, in his mouth, and squirting them at the intruder. Cuvier was particularly anxious to ascertain whether the animal's companions appreciated his services in this line, and was much interested to find that each gave him his full share of the day's plunder.

It was not this, however, that caused most surprise to Cuvier and his friends. They did not wonder at all that he was quite as voracious as the greediest of his brethren, but they were much astonished to find that, while none of the other three wolves seemed to take any pains to conceal their prey, "the captain" carefully hid away every particle that remained after he had fully gorged himself. When there was no fresh booty he slunk back from his companions, and regaled himself on what he had thus secreted, so that often, when they were left in the lurch, there being nothing left for them to prey upon, he fared quite sumptuously, and seemed to laugh in his own way at the imprudence and short-sightedness of his brethren.*

Was it not very much so with the once happy family of the Ring? While Tweed and Connolly and Sweeny were each busily occupied in the work of plunder, Mayor Hall assailed covertly or openly, according to circumstances, all who dared to find fault with them. If others forget this, we have had good reason to remember it. Lest the memory of some of our readers may be as defective as that of the public in general, we will try to refresh it a little. When we penned and published our *étude*, on the "Brains" of the Ring,† in March, 1871, the quadruple domination was intact and all powerful, and we were well aware that a more unscrupulous or baser despotism existed nowhere. We had no idea that we could assail such a gang, and pass unscathed; and those of our friends to whom we made known our intention earnestly warned us not to attempt so rash an act. But we have never paused to calculate what danger we might incur, or what injury we might bring on ourselves by performing our duty, to the best of our ability, as a public journalist. Accordingly we first grapple with the individual universally regarded as the chief plotter of the gang, and exhibit him as a fitting object for the finger of scorn to point at.

* Vide *Le Regne animal distribué d'après son organisation, etc.* Par M. le Baron Cuvier. Also Cuvier's *Tableau élémentaire de l'histoire naturelle des animaux.* Paris.

† "The Central Park under Ring Leader Rule," N. Q. R., No. XLIV.

On the very day on which this article is published, Mayor Hall attacks us in the Herald. There is nothing in our article according to his honor but "spite." Our assailing men like his colleagues, especially the Hon. Peter B. Sweeny, is sufficient in itself to show that our motive could be only an unworthy one. And, as a proof of the fact, he mutilates a private letter of ours to suit his purpose, and publishes it as a part of his "vindication" of Sweeny and his accomplices! Not content with all the injury he thought he could do us by seeking to disparage our readers, exhibiting his small wit by punning on our name, predicting the early end of our journal, and accusing us of slandering such "honorable and high-minded men" as his worthy colleagues —in the most widely circulated paper in America—he has the same "vindication," the same attack upon us, published as an advertisement in all the other papers of the city! At this time the Ring organs were quite a legion, and there was not one of them which did not obey the word of command to abuse us, both in the form of editorials and "letters from the people," for having dared to assail "the very best of our public men"—"men to whom New York owed so much," etc. *.

It is a curious illustration of the corruption that prevailed at this time that, of all the papers in the city, daily or weekly, which pretended to devote any attention to politics, there were only three—the Times, the Herald, and the World—which did not take an active part in the combined onslaught on us. But we can never forget that the Times did not merely remain neutral as the two of its *confrères* mentioned did, but

* Apart from the large number of papers controlled by the Ring, and which received their cue from Mayor Hall, that worthy person had a paper of his own, which, appropriately enough in one sense, was called "The Leader." Like the score of other papers of its class, the Leader lived and flourished solely on the money stolen from the tax-payers; accordingly, like the same worthless brood, when the plunderers are fully exposed, so that his honor can sign no more fraudulent warrants, the Leader immediately sickens, and very soon dies a natural death. Why did it die just then, if it got its support honestly, and not by thieving?"

trenchantly, and with well-directed sarcasm, denounced the mayor and his accomplices day after day, until the whole gang were unmasked, and the public indignation was completely aroused.*

Not a few thought it strange that Hall was so prompt in getting up the howl against us. But much stranger things were done in those days. Those who know any thing of printing are aware that all the articles in a periodical cannot be printed together. Accordingly, our paper on the Ring had been printed a month before the number in which it appeared was published. But at that time there was not a printing-office in New York without a Ring spy, if it was not actually owned by the Ring, or at least controlled by it. Hence it was that our article was not two days in type when those who formed its subject knew all about it; and, in less than one week after it was put in type, Mr. Dudley Field, the Ring lawyer, came to our office, in person, more than once, offering to buy the whole, or a part of this journal. This proposition was made to us three weeks before the publication of the obnoxious paper; so that, had it been our object to make money, all we had to do at this time, to secure a handsome sum, was simply to suppress that article. But we declined to enter into any bargain, in one way or the other; yet the mouthpiece of the gang who make all these efforts to bribe or frighten us according as we might prove avaricious

* Thus, for example, while other papers, claiming to be inflexible guardians of the interests of the tax-payers, tried to overwhelm us with their stale, second-hand witticisms, for being at once so absurd and malicious as to attribute dishonesty to so high-spirited and honorable a man as Peter B. Sweeny, the Times described that doughty personage as follows :

"Sweeny, the Mephistopheles of the gang, *must be among the first to be driven out of place and power. He has filled the City offices with his worthless relatives. He has had his arms thrust to the elbows in every dirty job.* And to think of keeping a sly rascal like this in a post of honor, while his dupes are kicked out, only because they are less cunning than himself !"

or timid, on being suitably probed by their plenipotentiary, charges us with "mere spite" against men of spotless and unswerving integrity.

Many innocent people supposed from the title of our article that we denounced Sweeny merely for his ignorant and destructive treatment of the trees, etc., in the Central Park. But this part of our attack was simply allegorical, as the article would show to-day. Not that the mutilation of the trees was by any means a mere metaphor, but a reality that did incalculable injury; but it was the undercurrent in our *étude*—the vein of scornful accusation of thievery and conspiracy running through it that gave such mortal offence, and brought upon us such a storm of mud and garbage. Those who have not read the paper alluded to may see from an extract or two that we had reference to more than one kind of "pruning." Thus, after trying to ascertain in what does the resemblance between Sweeny and Bismarck—a resemblance then claimed to be very striking—consist, we proceed as follows:

"But we cannot help thinking that there would be much more force, and more justice, too, in comparing the present head (?) of the Department of Public Parks to his friend, Colonel Fisk, Jr. If the former claims to be a jurist, and the latter claims to be a military chieftain, we think that the legal attainments of the one are pretty nearly on a par with the military attainments of the other; in other words, one is about as good a specimen of a field-officer as his friend is of a counsellor at law. We have no doubt that the *latter could defend one for obtaining money under false pretences, or for conspiring with others for that purpose*, as ably and fearlessly as the former could command a target company in charging a battalion of fishmongers before 'the enemy' had time to arm."*

In the same article we compare the "Brains" of the Ring to a certain quack doctor, who, like Fisk, used to display his coach-and-six daily in the Park. It will be seen that, in this comparison, also, we do something more than make a criticism in botany, or landscape-gardening:

"We are not aware whether the 'doctor' is, or has been, a colleague of his, like the 'colonel;' however, be this as it may, it is but fair to

* N. Q. R., No. XLIV. (March, 1871), p. 294.

take into account that *it is exactly the same class, i. e., the most ignorant and most credulous, who do the voting for Sweeny and buy the buchu for Helmbold. Ignorance and imbecility are as much the basis of the greatness of the one as they are that of the greatness of the other.**

Hall knew just as well as Sweeny, or Tweed, or Connolly, what we meant by "*obtaining money under false pretences*, or *conspiring with others for that purpose.*" Nor was the brave vindicator of Sweeny merely actuated by a fellow feeling. He remembered that, like Cuvier's sentinel wolf, he got a wolf's share of the plunder. He also felt that he was as much the representative of "the most ignorant and most credulous class who do the voting," as his high-minded and honorable colleague. It was not, therefore, for the sake of Sweeny, or Tweed, or Connolly, but for his own sake, that Hall so basely did all in his power to crush us to the earth, and trample upon us, when he found that, with all his efforts, he could neither purchase, nor frighten, nor gag us.

But, at length, when it was time to issue our next number, we found ourselves in the position of one attacked alone by a band of brigands—some of whose exploits he had previously denounced—who, with a brigand's hand on his throat, is forced to promise that he will, in future, "let them alone." Neither the ethics nor the jurisprudence of any civilized nation hold that a promise of this kind is binding;† accordingly, no sooner do we find our throat relieved of the brigand's grip, and see honest men about us who will protect us from the fury of the gang, than we renew our denunciations as vigorously as possible.

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* *Ib.*, p. 314.

† "Where the person you speak to has *no right to know the truth*," says Paley, "or, more properly, where little or no inconvenience results from the want of confidence in such cases; as where you tell a falsehood to a madman for his own advantage; *to a robber*, to *conceal* your *property; to an assassin, to defeat, or divert him from his purpose.* The *particular consequence* is, by the supposition, *beneficial;* and, as to the general consequence, *the worst that can happen* is, that the madman, *the robber, the assassin*, will not trust you again."—Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, chap. xv., p. 134.

It is, however, through no ill-will toward Mr. A. Oakey Hall that we recur to those facts to-day. We have not the least "spite" against him; even if we had a spiteful disposition it would be hardly worth while to exercise it in his case at this time. Were it our object to lower him in the estimation of his fellow citizens on account of his connection with Sweeny, Tweed, Connolly, etc., our task in writing this paper would be a superfluous one. In the eyes of all honest men who know any thing of the facts, and are capable of the simplest process of reasoning, he could hardly attain a lower depth; the most favorable sentiment he can ever hope to inspire among such men or women, in regard to himself, is one of contempt and scorn. Why, then, should we have any resentment against poor Oakey Hall? What if he exercised all the power he possessed as Doge of New York to strike us down? Did he not serve us a good deal in doing so, instead of harming us in the slightest, except in the way of insult and abuse? Is it not possible, therefore, that he mobbed us, and had all sorts of unsavory things flung at us, with the kindest intentions for our welfare, on the ground that the end justifies the means!

Be this as it may, all we mean at this time, so far as Hall is concerned, is to ask a few simple questions. Our readers may remember that we inquired several times of those who claimed, in reply to our criticisms, that Sweeny was an honest, honorable man, Where did that personage obtain his wealth? How did he obtain it? Was it really his own, or did it belong to the tax-payers? These questions remained for years unanswered. At last the answers to them begin to come, in the form of indictments, attachments, etc.

Four years—nay two years—ago, such answers were regarded as impossible. Sweeny was no robber—no thief—nothing of the kind! his brother was equally innocent. Tweed and Connolly did all the stealing. Because Sweeny was honest and honorable himself he thought Tweed and Connolly were so too; when he discovered that he was mistaken in this, he was, of course, deeply grieved and mortified!

But what say his defenders and vindicators now, when as much of the property he holds as can be found is attached as belonging not to him but to the tax-payers of New York?

Now, it comes to this:—Hall is the only one of the quadruple alliance whose share of the plunder seems still covered up. We are by no means sure that no clue to his share has yet been found. But let us assume that such is the case. The question arises, then, whether are we to regard Hall as a knave or a fool? He certainly must be held to be one or the other. But are those mere fools who watch for robbers while they are carrying on their depredations, and carrying off their booty, and who, if the robbers be disturbed in their operations, get up as loud and fierce a howl against the disturber? Do fools hire and support a score of newspapers for no other purpose than to prove daily that a gang of robbers are honest men? Do even fools scold, threaten, and throw garbage for any body without at least having their stomachs filled for their pains?

If, nevertheless, Hall only played the part of one of those *rarœ aves*, who have neither stomach nor bag to fill, but fight for their thieving companions, for pure, disinterested love, how has he become so wealthy? Where did he get so much property? By what magic did his bank accounts grow so large? In a word, why does he alone, of the whole plundering gang, of which he was the captain and guardian, enjoy exemption from attachment? But we venture to predict, once more, that his turn will come, if it has not come already. He, too, will be called upon to disgorge; if he be not seized upon himself, his property inevitably will, if, when the day of retribution comes, he has any left where it can be reached by the Nemesis of our plundered city.

However, we would not have recurred to the case of Hall, at this time, had not certain recent proceedings seemed to render it proper that we should do so. When civil suits were commenced, some time since, against Peter B. Sweeny and his brother, we were authoritatively informed that the former would return to New York by the next

steamer, for the purpose of confronting his accusers, and demonstrating his innocence. But steamer after steamer sailed for New York, and reached its destination without bringing any member of the Sweeny family. Still the rumors of the great man's approach to our shores become more and more rife from day to day, until it transpires that criminal, as well as civil, processes await him. Then, quite mysteriously, the rumors die away, and it is discovered that the honorable gentleman's health is not yet entirely re-established, and that, probably, his physicians will not allow him to venture on the ocean for some time longer. The next bulletin after this brings the sad tidings that the great statesman's brother has died of a broken heart—the cause of the untimely failure of that organ, in his case, being profound grief that the foul tongue of slander should have sullied the proud escutcheon of the illustrious American branch of the Sweeny family—a branch that has exhibited so remarkable an improvement—at least, in the richness of its foliage—on the parent stem.

The public had hardly had time to wonder at the sudden change in the health of the Sweeny family—still less had it time to grieve for the untimely death of the junior, or inferior Sweeny—when it was surprised by the decision of the Court of Appeals releasing Tweed from the Penitentiary. But even that high tribunal cannot restore him to liberty. Other criminal indictments and other civil processes await him.

Thus, while neither Sweeny nor Connolly dares show his face in New York, and while the inexorable Nemesis holds Tweed in her iron grasp, Hall is permitted to enjoy his share of the plunder, without let or hindrance.

But it cannot be said, at home or abroad, that Hall owes this immunity to his being a lawyer, since a much abler lawyer—one possessed of twenty-fold more talent—has had the severest sentence passed upon him of all connected with the Ring. We were never under any compliment to Judge Barnard; we never asked or received any favor from him, either for ourselves or anybody else. We never appeared before him, either as plaintiff or defendant in any case—not even as

a witness. There is no reason, therefore, why we should be biased in our estimate of him.

At the same time, we formed no opinion of him without having an opportunity of judging of his character. Just as we visit an educational institution, or an art gallery, or read a book, in order to qualify ourselves to give our opinion of one or the other, we have often gone to our higher courts to hear the pleadings of counsel and the rulings and decisions of the bench. This we have done in London and Dublin, as well as in New York. We have witnessed the proceedings in the Court of Queen's Bench, when the most eminent jurists living presided, and were addressed by the ablest and most famous barristers. We had had this experience before we ever entered an American court. Yet the first time we saw Judge Barnard on the bench we were particularly struck with his sallies of wit and humor. One day a judge of the Superior Court did us the honor of accompanying us to the Supreme Court, to introduce us to Judge Barnard, in order that we might have a full opportunity of forming an opinion both of his intellectual and judicial characteristics.

The judge kindly invited us to a seat beside him on the bench. He was occupied in what is technically called hearing motions in Chambers. Accordingly, his audience, although quite large, consisted almost exclusively of lawyers. We can truly say that we had never spent nearly two hours more agreeably than those during which we listened to Judge Barnard's decisions. Lord Brougham was justly celebrated for his promptness in deciding motions as Lord Chancellor; but we are convinced that he never disposed of more cases in an equally brief time than Judge Barnard did on that occasion. But it was not the large number of motions decided so rapidly that chiefly surprised us; we were much more astonished at the brilliant, epigrammatic remarks made by the judge to each lawyer. Certainly, no two counsel were addressed alike; there was endless variety; and in at least nineteen cases out of twenty the lawyers could not help evincing their good humor, even when the decisions were adverse to them.

Of the two or three out of the whole number, whom neither wit nor humor could induce to relax into a smile, one reminded us very forcibly, from the nature of his case, of the unfortunate barrister who, on having announced himself, very pompously, to Dean Swift as "Sergeant Butterworth," only received the reply, "Of what *regiment*, pray?"

Of the guilt or innocence of Judge Barnard we know nothing. But, assuming the worst charges against him to be true, they are not worse than those that have been proved against the associates of Mayor Hall. So far as accepting or appropriating dishonest money is concerned, we feel certain that Hall has sinned a hundred-fold on a larger scale than Barnard, that is, assuming, as we have said, that the latter has taken bribes as charged against him.

But here let us pause for a moment, and make a parenthetical remark or two. Supposing all alleged against Judge Barnard was true, history tells us of judges in all the principal countries of Europe that have been convicted of still worse, and sentenced to the severest penalties, and yet have had those penalties remitted in a very short time. But we need only mention one example, namely, that of Lord Bacon. The great chancellor was accused before the House of Lords of the very worst crimes that it was possible for him to commit in his official capacity. Moreover, he acknowledged himself guilty of nearly all—especially of the most serious; and the severest sentence was passed upon him, viz.: that he pay a fine of £40,000—then an enormous sum—and be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. He was also declared incapable of ever holding any office; forever excluded from parliament, and forbidden from ever appearing "within the verge of the court." No doubt the sentence, though very severe, was just. Nevertheless three years had not elapsed before it was entirely remitted. Not only was he admitted to court, but he was summoned to attend parliament. Seldom or never has a more vindictive or a more tyrannical king than James I. sat upon the English throne; yet he was neither so vindictive nor so tyrannical as to allow this sen-

tence to rest like an incubus on Lord Bacon, to crush him into an untimely grave. Finally, when the great chancellor died, in the service of science, the following words were found in his will: "My name and memory *I leave to foreign nations*, and to my own countrymen, *after some time be passed over.*" This touching appeal was not in vain; the world has heard it; so that Bacon is no less recognized to-day in all parts of the world—nowhere more than in England—as Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and the great English Chancellor, than he was when those titles respectively were given him more than two centuries ago.

And shall a Republic be more vindictive, more tyrannical, and more ruthless, or less generous, than was the king who had not the manliness—not to mention filial affection, or chivalric spirit—to make the least effort to save his mother's gray head from the block?

Had Hall been condemned as Judge Barnard was and under similar circumstances, and been still undergoing the penalties to which he was sentenced, our voice would have been raised for him to-day just as freely and as earnestly as it is for Barnard. And are there no generous men, possessed of power and influence, who bear in mind that he who has had this heavy sentence passed upon him, and is still suffering from it (we allude especially to his being precluded from working, for such as would employ him, at his profession, for the support of his family), belongs, both by blood and marriage, to a family of jurists, some of whom are a credit both to the bench and the bar at this moment.

We have indulged in a much longer digression than we had intended; but we trust we shall be pardoned as having done so in the cause of humanity. It also does some justice to ourselves, since it shows that we do not assail Hall, or Sweeny, or anybody else, because he belongs, or has belonged, to Tammany, or to any party or sect whatever.

In commencing this paper we have alluded to the bad memory of the public, especially of the New York public. We have illustrations enough of the fact, but we need refer

now to only one or two. Our readers may remember the extravagant praise bestowed on Andrew H. Green by all our city papers, with one or two exceptions, when he became comptroller, on the recommendation of Connolly. There was no one like him; he was the very impersonation of honesty, disinterestedness, patriotism, etc. His speeches, on all occasions, were declared "capital," "neat," "just the right ring," etc., whereas the orator of whose powers they reminded us most forcibly was, it will be recollected, the quadruped said to soliloquize thus:

> "My portrait in a rage did Nature draw,
> And gave me only a sweet voice—'*he—haw!*'"

But we happened to have some knowledge of the operations of that gentleman as treasurer of the Central Park commission—quite enough to satisfy us that, if the truth were told, those fine eulogies would soon be reversed. To have said so then would have been useless—an "attack" on one of the chief divinities of the place—just as much "all spite," as in the case of Sweeny. Accordingly, we wait until the Green enthusiasm has somewhat subsided. Then, in our number for September, 1872, we give our estimate as follows:

"No one, who has *given any intelligent attention* to the course of Mr. Green as Comptroller, can conscientiously say, *either that he is an honest man or that he means well.* The people of New York may justly be ranked among the most short-sighted and credulous of civilized communities if they cannot see that all along this man has been in collusion with *his old friends* the *worst members of the Ring.*"*

A little further on we add:

"This may seem unduly harsh, * * * but has not Green himself fully *proved the justice of it?* Who exerted himself more zealously than "Reformer" Green to defeat the Reform Charter? *Who evinced a stronger disposition to bribe*, as a *lobbyist at Albany*, all who would give him a hand to *prolong his own power*," etc.

A little more than a year after we gave our views thus, we read, in the New York Herald (November 25, 1873), the following resolutions, unanimously adopted at a meeting of

*N. Q. R., No. L., Art.: "Our Candidates as Reformers, Genuine and Spurious," p. 373.

the Reform Association, held at the Everett House the previous evening:

"*First*—That the people and tax-payers of New York have heard with astonishment and alarm that the present Comptroller, Andrew H. Green, has already commenced the disgraceful tactics of the late Ring swindlers, by paying unlawfully the money of the city, to "work" the Legislature, so as to keep himself in office.

"*Second*—That the bonded and floating debt of the city has been more than doubled since the present Comptroller took charge, two years ago, now reaching the enormous sum of $180,000,000.

"*Third*—That the utter unfitness of Mr. Green, because of his ignorance, want of executive and business capacity, to manage the finances of a great city, is clearly demonstrated in the fact that a large proportion of the business of the office has been transferred to the courts, resulting in great loss and waste of the people's money for lawyers and useless litigation, destroying the credit of the city, so that the bonds cannot be sold, and causing such general distrust that the tax-payers now begin to refuse to pay taxes.

"*Fourth*—That his shameful mismanagement has brought the city to the verge of bankruptcy for want of funds; nearly all the public works are stopped, and the poor workingmen thrown out of employment; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That his Honor, the Mayor, be respectfully requested to forthwith examine into the serious charges now pending against the Comptroller, and which Mr. Green has not yet denied. It is due to the tax-payers that an immediate investigation be had according to law."

In the following February Mr. John Foley shows, from the books of the Central Park commission, in a letter to the tax-payers of New York, that Thomas C. Fields, who is now a fugitive from justice, as a member of the robber gang, had been for years the accomplice and tool of Green, while the latter was abstracting as much money as possible from the treasury, and transferring it to his own capacious wallet. After having presented the tax-payers copies of various official documents, which show in detail how grateful Green ought to be to his worthy associate, now in exile with Sweeny, Connolly, etc., Mr. Foley recapitulates as follows:

"My investigation shows *him voting against paying for medical aid for a poor workingman, who had his leg broken while in the discharge of his duty in the Park, the small sum of* $50, *while he* (*Green*) *was voting out of the tax-payers' pockets*

NEARLY TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS.

For what? Here are the figures:

"Green's back-pay grab	$26,941
Green's pay as Treasurer	74,717
Green's pleasure visit to Europe	1,600
Green's visit to Washington for a "General" in 1863	28
Green's visit to Albany	2,033
Green's private house	13,400
Green's $300 a year grab	3,902
Green's carriage	1,800
Green's horses and harness	1,004
Green's coachman on pay-roll, about	6,930
Green's feed for horses, etc	4,670
Grand total	$137,025

And more bills to follow. If this can be considered honesty and fair dealing we had better invite back Green's 'Auditor,' Fields, Tweed, Connolly, and all the other notorious innocents."

We might fill the space devoted to this whole article with similar testimony, drawn from various sources—the testimony of men whose truthfulness has never been questioned—not to mention the testimony of four-fifths of the New York daily and weekly press.* But we had the priority in the case of

* With what the daily papers have said on the subject, from time to time, our readers are sufficiently familiar. As the weekly papers are not so generally read, we quote a passage from Wilkes' Spirit of the Times, of January 10, 1874, which may serve as a specimen of the utterances of the hebdomadal sheets in regard to the same functionary:

"When all hope seemed to leave the mind of the philosophical observer of our municipal corruption, there still would rise to cheer him, from the centre of the black polluting sea, a spectre of pure spar, robed in the stern folds of Aristides, and wearing upon his inexorable brow the living words, 'This is an honest man!' This beautiful figure was the apparition of Mr. Park Commissioner Andrew H. Green, artistically projected upon the gloom by false lime-lights and the ingenious bursting of congested vapors; while the real and corrupt substance of the man himself remained snugly hidden on the dark, calcareous shore.

"In this almost celestial attitude, however, did the misleading vision of this man Green figure during his whole career as Central Park commissioner; the people frequently singing hosannas to his virtue, under the impression that he performed his labor without pay, and that his righteous fingers were unsoiled by sordid fees. It was under this erroneous estimate of Green (when the great Tammany frauds were brought to light), that the startled community, as if by common voice, shouted for the one honest man, the incorruptible Andrew H. Green, to take

Green just as much as we had in the case of Sweeny. Moreover, we have dearly paid for that priority in the case of the latter as well as in that of the former.

In the first part of this article we have given expression to the wonder of thousands of the tax-payers of New York, how it is that Mr. A. Oakey Hall continues to enjoy an immunity accorded to no other prominent member of the Ring. Hundreds have expressed their surprise in this form: Supposing that Hall stole none himself, which, considering the circumstances, is a very charitable supposition, is it not undeniable that he watched for the rest, fought for them, lied for them, employed others to fight and lie for them; in short, did all in his power to screen them, and to throw unsavory dust in the eyes of all who would attempt to interrupt them in their operations? Upon this ground alone is he not a *particeps criminis*—as guilty of robbing the tax-payers as any other member of the gang?

We could not deny the force of this argument; and we do not know many intelligent, honest men who regard it in a different light. At the same time, our sincere opinion is, that the keys of the city treasury would be safer to-morrow in the hands of Hall than they are in the hands of Green. Undoubtedly the former has some redeeming qualities; but the latter not one. A greedier, more selfish, more arrogant, more ignorant, and more incapable man than Green, or a man more utterly devoid of principle, never had charge of the finances of a great city like ours.

Yet not only is he allowed to retain office and to injure the city in its most vital interests, from year to year; he is

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charge of the financial helm of the city in the position of comptroller. Of course Green cunningly put himself forward just at the right moment, and artfully set the cry upon the wind; but every citizen who joined in it thoroughly believed in Green, and heartily rejoiced that such a single-minded public servant was to have a salary at last. Could they have seen, however, the illicit thousands with which the craw of this cormorant was stuffed, in secret complicity with that other beautiful bird, Tom Fields, the public notion of his probity would have fallen to a much lower octave, and he would have been the last man they would have trusted with the key of the City Safe."

also allowed to squander the public money in bribes and other illegal, dishonest forms, in order to increase and prolong his power. Well, indeed, may we boast of self-government, and sympathize loudly with "the down-trodden masses of Europe," while we submit for years with so much docility to the arrogant, tyrannical, ignorant rule of such a political vampire!

ART. VIII.—1. *Delphi Phœnicizantes, sive Tractatus in quo ostenditur Græcos quicquid apud Delphos celebre erat a Josue Historiâ, Scriptisque Sacris effinxisse. Cum diatribâ de Noe in Italiam Adventu.* (*A Treatise in which is shown that the Greeks derived whatever was remarkable at Delphi from the Book of Joshua and the sacred Scriptures. With an argument concerning the coming of Noah into Italy.*) E. DICKENSON. Oxford. 1655.

2. *Historia Deorum Fatidicorum, Vatum, Sibyllarum, Phœbadum apud priscos illustrium.* (*Account of the Prophetic Deities, Prophets, Sibyls, Apolline Oracles renowned among the Ancients.*) Geneva: P. Chovet. 1675.

3. *De Origine atque auctoribus Oraculorum Veterum Ethnicorum. Dissertationes Duae.* (*Of the Origin and Authors of the Oracles of Ancient Nations. Two dissertations.*) ANTHONY VAN DALE. Amsterdam. 1700.

4. *History of Greece.* By PROFESSOR DR. ERNEST CARTIUS. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, M. A. London. 1869.

"*Populus vult decipi, et decipiatur*" is the maxim by which, in all ages, the superstitions of the masses have been utilized by, and rendered subservient to, the wisdom and policy of a few leaders. When Alexander the Great, with his drawn sword, compelled the Pythia to ascend the tripod, it is not to be supposed that at heart he reposed great faith in the vatic-

inations of a divinity whose shrine he so little reverenced as to desecrate it by violence to its most sacred priestess; but, when terror wrung from her the cry "Thou art invincible!" he felt that no oracle could better answer his purpose or produce a stronger moral effect on his troops. Therefore the expression of the Pythoness's fear was received as the utterance of inspiration.

Ancient history furnishes various instances in which the oracles are expressly admitted to have spoken at the behest of the rulers of the people such words as were considered expedient for their purposes. When the Pythia commanded the Athenians to leave their homes and take refuge in wooden walls, the historians make no secret of the fact that she spoke at the instance of Themistocles, who had concluded that the invasion of Xerxes could be most effectually resisted at sea. Nay, when, at the period of the Macedonian invasion, the oracle delivered sentences which sounded favorable to the invaders, Demosthenes did not hesitate boldly to assert that the Pythia *Philippized*—that is, uttered her prophecies under no other inspiration than that of Philip's gold.

It is to be feared that even the early Christian teachers did not always refuse to avail themselves of this powerful engine for the purpose of persuading the masses. How are we otherwise to account for the reported answer averred by Suidas and Cedrenus to have been given by an ancient oracle to Thulis, king of Egypt. "First God, next the Word, then the Spirit with them; they are equally eternal and make but one, whose power will never end."

Although history is silent as to the first institution of oracles, there can be little doubt that they had their origin in the necessity which has always existed in the human breast of reverencing and seeking communion with some power unfelt and unseen. * As Plutarch has finely expressed it, "If you

* "La foi aux oracles se rattachait intimement à la croyance à la divination, croyance qui est propre aux premiers âges de la vie intellectuelle de toutes les nations; elle reposait sur une idée qui a été l'origine de toutes les religions; celle d'une révélation faite aux hommes par la Divinité,

go through the earth, you may find many cities wanting walls, letters, kings, mansions, even names ; of gymnasia or theatres you may see nothing; but a city wanting temples and divinities, which by prayers, by oaths, by oracles, is not nourished, no man has ever discovered." *

While the Greeks claimed paramount antiquity for their ancient oracles of Dodona, there can be little reasonable doubt that Egypt was the first home of the oracle.† The peculiar characteristics of this nation were such as to especially adapt it for the growth of such an institution. A people religious to the point of superstition, possessing a high degree of material civilization, but (as regards the masses) of limited intellectual culture—a race by nature docile and subservient, directed by a priesthood which embraced the predominating intellect and the entire learning of the nation—which learning was veiled in such profound secrecy that to this day its extent is rather guessed than ascertained—a people under the dominion of a despotic sovereign, who was at once the creature and the lord of his priestly allies, and who, like the priests, was considered by the people to be almost, if not altogether, divine—it is easy to perceive how readily such a people would respond to the notion of a supernatural communication through human agencies, and how this disposition would be utilized by the priestly faction who availed themselves of the

et par l'intermédiaire des prêtres, c'est à dire de certaines personnes revêtues d'un caractère divin. Les oracles étaient comme les ouvertures de notre monde sur le monde suprasensible; c'était par là que la voix des Dieux se communiquait à l'humanité."—Léon Renier.

* "Oratio adversus Colotem."

† "The Egyptians had a tradition that the oracles of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia, and of Dodona in Epirus, were instituted by two priestesses abducted by the Phœnicians."—Herodotus, ii., 42.

The natives of Dodona attributed the institution of oracles to two doves escaped from Egypt, who took refuge, one in Lybia, the other in Epirus, where she spoke with a human voice, and commanded to erect a shrine whence Jupiter Ammon would thenceforth utter oracles.

Another Greek tradition represents the doves to have come from Dodona to Lybia and Delphi.—Dickenson, p. 72.

knowledge, of which they were the sole possessors, to command the obedience of the people, and even of the king himself.

When oracles were first instituted is a still more difficult question. That they were of great antiquity is evident from the fact that all the profane historians—even the most ancient—speak of them as established institutions existing beyond the memory of man. It is remarkable, however, that in the Mosaic writings no mention is made of them as at that time existing in Egypt. We read of the magicians, the priests, and the soothsayers; but of nothing corresponding to our usual conception of the oracles. Neither do the Hebrews, at the time of their departure from Egypt, appear to have carried with them any traces of the practice of oracular vaticinations. Moses, in the Book of Exodus, reveals the divine commands as communicated to him in person without any intermediate machinery. At the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, however, we find mention of an institution which appears to contain the germ of the ancient oracle—namely, the mercy seat, which was erected in the most holy place of the tabernacle, and of which it is expressly said, "I will commune with thee from above the mercy seat;" * and, in the account of the construction of Solomon's Temple, the apartment of special sanctity, commonly called the holy of holies, is distinctly spoken of as the oracle.† Here we are informed that the high priest inquired of the Lord, and the answers were given by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets.‡ It is impossible not to recognize in all this a certain analogy to the oracles of Greece and Egypt; but, that it was an institution in any sense Egyptian, all the recorded facts seem to negative. We must conclude, therefore, that the oracle, even if it existed, had not at this early period attained the position which it eventually occupied, but was less generally consulted than the wise men and the magicians.

If we turn to the chief record of the times commonly styled pre-historic—the epos—we find that, while in the Iliad

* Exodus, xxv., 22. † I. Kings, viii., 6. ‡ II. Samuel, xviii., 16.

the Pythian temple is mentioned as the repository of great wealth,* there is no allusion to any oracle there established as a recognized channel for the transmission of divine decrees. The will of Jove or Apollo is usually intimated by a prophet, whose sources of knowledge are not announced, but who speaks with authority, not deeming it necessary to declare in what manner the will of the Deity was revealed to him, but simply announcing it as a fact—an announcement which is received with respect and accepted by the hearers. The duration and termination of the Trojan war are revealed by a prodigy publicly manifested—the destruction of nine birds by a serpent and his subsequent metamorphosis into stone—which Calchas interprets as indicating the nine years duration of the siege of Troy, and its successful termination in the tenth. In the Odyssey, however, which is, with great appearance of reason, conjectured to be a poem of considerably later date, distinct mention is made of the oracle as an existing institution. We are here told that Agamemnon consulted the oracle at Pytho before undertaking the Trojan war:

> "For Heaven foretold the contest where he trode
> The marble threshold of the Delphic God;
> Curious to learn the counsels of the sky,
> Ere yet he loosed the rage of war on Troy."†
>
> *Odyssey*, viii., 80. (Pope's Translation.)

It is a singular fact that no allusion whatever is made to this incident in the Iliad, and goes far to confirm the theory that the Odyssey is the composition of a much later period.

Ulysses, again, in his fictitious narrative to Eumaeus, pretends to have visited Dodona to ascertain the will of Jupiter;‡ but in reality he makes no such journey, though he braves the horrors of a visit to Hades to consult the shade of Teiresias.

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* "Not all Apollo's Pythian treasures hold."—*Iliad*, ix., 404. Pope's translation.

† "ωδ γαρ ὁι χρειων μυνηδατο Φοιβος Απολλων
Πυθοι εν 'ηγαθεη οθ' 'υπέρβη λαινον 'ουδον
Χρηδομενος τοτε γαρ ρα κυλινδετο πηματος αρχη
Τρωδὶ' και Δαναοϊδι Διος μεγαλου δια βουλας."

‡ *Odyssey*, xiv., 327.

In like manner, when Telemachus goes in search of his father —although his mother is comforted by dreams, and himself assisted by the counsel of Minerva in person—there is no question of his applying to the oracle, nor any suggestion of a resource, which, in the historic ages, would have been the first mentioned. We may therefore safely infer that, although the oracle was an existing institution at the time of the composition of the Odyssey—although not necessarily of the Iliad —it was of comparatively recent date, perhaps difficult of access, and by no means a place of universal, or even general, resort.

The quaint author, whose name heads our list of authorities, claims for the oracle an antiquity still higher than do any of the early historians. According to him the oracle originated in the early worship of Jehovah, and the idea of peculiar sanctity attaching to certain spots in which his temples had been reared. The country which he selects for its birthplace is neither Egypt nor Greece, but a region of, perhaps, still greater antiquity—the mysterious land of Etruria. Although it will be difficult to accept his theories in their full extent, the arguments on which they are based deserve a passing notice.

According to Dickenson, the "isles of the Gentiles," mentioned in the Book of Genesis as the home of the sons of Japhet, denote the peninsulas of Greece and Italy, which in the imperfect knowledge of geography in those days might easily have been mistaken for islands. Noah himself he supposes to have dwelt in Etruria, for the following reasons:

Ancient fragments, said to have been discovered by Inghiram in Etruria, speak of "Vandimon, who is called Janus * by the Latins and Noah by the Syrians," as having come into that region with his second son, Japhet, and his children, and

* The name Janus is supposed by Dickenson to be derived from the Hebrew Jaun, signifying wine, and to have been given to Noah, as its discoverer. The term Œnotrians—clearly from the Greek οἰνοτροος, wine-bearer—he assumes to be the Greek form of a name given to the children of Noah for the same reason.

there to have founded a city called Cethim or Kittim, the name of one of his descendants.* A descendant of this Kittim, bearing the same name, is said some two hundred and twenty years afterward to have colonized the island of Cyprus.† Out of these fragments Dickenson collects the text of a sermon said to have been preached by Vandimon or Noah to his descendants.‡ To these fragments, however, we attach the less weight, as the author does not give the proofs of their genuineness; and, were this even established, it would prove nothing beyond the existence of certain traditions in Etruria. The oracle of Dodona he boldly assumes to have been originally a temple erected to Jehovah. Its establishment he attributes to Dodanim, the son of Javan, and a great grandson of Noah. We know that one Greek tradition attributed it to Dodonæus, the son of Jupiter and Europa,§ and another to Deucalion, the sole survivor of the universal deluge.‖

The actual site of Dodona is at present a matter of uncertainty. The *indicia* by which its locality is designated are at once so numerous and so contradictory, that it is impossible to bring them all to bear upon any single spot. A lake, a high mountain, a hundred springs, a miraculous fountain which extinguished lights and rekindled them, a forest of oaks and beeches, a wide plain of excellent pasturage; all these features are to be found separately in that portion of Epirus in which Dodona is said to have been situated, but in no such juxtaposition as to enable us to ascertain the exact locality of the sacred spot.

It is more than probable, however, that these descriptions are intended to characterize the country surrounding the oracle, embracing, perhaps, a circuit of vast extent. In the midst of uplands lying below the eastern slope of Mount

* Genesis, x., 4.

† Eusebius speaks of "the Kittims, whence come the Latins or Romans." Cedrenus says that "Telephus, the son of Hercules, otherwise called Latinus, changed the name of the Kittims to Latins."

‡ Dickenson, p. 75. § *Ibid.* ‖ Chovet.

Olitza, ruins have been discovered which are with great appearance of reason conjectured to be those of the sacred city. That a city of ancient Greece should stand on a plain is in itself an anomaly which can be explained only by the utmost confidence in its security from attack; a security which can be attributed only to the sanctity of an oracle respected by all invaders.

The town is small and can never have been populous; yet it bears traces of wealth and importance. The theatre, in the adjoining hill, is one of the largest in Greece; and there are vestiges of two temples, of one of which the fragments of fourteen columns still remain. No such ruins are found elsewhere in Epirus. From these *indicia* it is reasonable to suppose that these ruins—now called Dramisus—are the remains of the ancient Dodona.

For the various historical features we must make an extensive circuit. The Dodonæan Lake may be found at Jannina; the phosphoric spring near Speronini; the mountain of Tænarus is represented by Olitza with its hundred springs and the fertile plain at its base.

One fact is certain, there are records of a bishop of Dodona, in the fifth century, and his see is in the imperial documents called Bonditza. In the immediate neighborhood of these very ruins is a church known by the name of the Ecclesia Bodista.*

The venerable oaks of Dodona have, of course, long since disappeared. From these the oracular voice was supposed to issue, † but whether this voice was actually heard by the applicant or was only communicated by the three priestesses, must remain a matter of conjecture. It is not improbable, however, that by a species of ventriloquism voices were made to issue apparently from the oaks themselves. Hollow trees are not unfrequently the seat of echoes; and we have, in modern times, one instance, at least, of a hollow elm situated in a place called Chaumont, near Toulouse, from which mysterious voices were supposed to issue. This may afford

* Wordsworth's Greece, p. 329. † Æschylus. Prometheus Vinctus.

some clue to the peculiar utterances at Dodona. On the other hand, we are told that brazen chains and vessels were suspended from the boughs of the sacred oaks, which, when agitated by the winds, gave forth sounds, which, of course, were far from articulate, and would necessitate the medium of an interpreter; hence the proverb, "Aere Dodoneo loquacior." * At a later period these sounds were produced by a statue which surmounted a column at the entrance of the temple. This statue represented a child holding a scourge from which depended small fragments of metal; these, when agitated by the wind, struck a brazen vessel on the adjoining column, and produced the resonances which were received as the voice of the Deity. †

Later writers represent that the oracles were delivered by doves, who uttered them from the branches of the sacred oaks; ‡ but this is evidently a misconception of the fact that the priestesses at Dodona were called πελειαδες or πελειαι §— a word signifying doves or pigeons, and derived from the tradition heretofore mentioned.

From these facts we may probably conclude that the oracles of Dodona were interpreted to the multitude by the priestesses, who professed to receive their inspiration, sometimes from the movement of the leaves (φυλλομαντεία), sometimes from the brazen echoes, and sometimes, no doubt, by actual voices, ingeniously made to appear as if proceeding from the hollows of the sacred oaks.

This temple was destroyed, and the sacred groves cut down, by the Etolians, B. C. 219 ;‖ yet such was the veneration in which it was held, that supplicants continued to resort thither nearly as late as the Christian era.

The oracle of Jupiter Ammon, in Lybia, claimed equal, if not superior, antiquity to that of Dodona; but this claim was strenuously disputed by the Greeks, although, as we have seen, one Dodonæan tradition attributed to both oracles a

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* Chovet, p. 33. Suidas. s. v. Δωδωνη. † Steph. Byz. s. v. Δωδωνη.
‡ Dionys Hal, i., p. 12. § Herodotus, ii., 55. ‖ Polybius, iv., 67.

simultaneous establishment, emanating from Thebes, in Egypt.* In the name Hammon—a Hebrew word signifying heat—we recognize traces of sun-worship—a most primitive form of idolatry.† This oracle was highly venerated in Greece, as well as in Africa; in fact, at one period, temples to Jupiter Ammon were erected in Greece. The divinity was worshipped under the figure of a ram, or, rather, having the head of a ram on a human body. ‡ A distinguishing feature of the oracle was the magic fountain which flowed in the sacred grove. This fountain was said to vary in temperature at the different hours of the day. At sunrise it was tepid; at noon its waters were icy cold; at sunset it began to manifest signs of heat; at midnight it bubbled fiercely; from that hour it cooled gradually, until at sunrise it was once more tepid. §

When the oracle was consulted, the priests, sometimes eighty in number, carried a golden vessel with silver bowls on either side. A choir of matrons and virgins followed, singing a hymn in an unknown tongue, which was supposed to propitiate the divinity. ‖ In what manner the responses were delivered we are not with certainty informed; but it was probably through the medium of the priests.

This oracle being peculiarly difficult of access, surrounded by deserts, in crossing which the traveller was exposed to burning sands, parching thirst, and the perils of wild beasts, was consulted only on occasions of great moment. Alexander, to whom the moral influence of the oracle was of the utmost importance, surmounted all these difficulties, and presented himself at the shrine of Jupiter Ammon. Here the priests received him with special distinction, and proposed to greet him with the term παιδιον, *my child*, a term of special endearment; but, in their ignorance of the language, substituted the phrase παι Διος, son of Jove. This Alexander received as

* Herodotus, ii., 42, 54. Dickenson, p. 72.

† Some archæologists have gone further and sought to identify Hammon with Ham, the Son of Noah.—Chovet, p. 38.

‡ Herodotus, iv., 181. § Chovet, p. 37. ‖ Ibid.

a response of the oracle, and on this based henceforth a claim to divine parentage.

Another oracle of African parentage, but of somewhat later date, was the oracle of Serapis at the temple of Memnon, in Egypt. Here the divinity was worshipped as a bull —not an image, but a living animal. It was this oracle which uttered the famous response to Hannibal,

"Λιβυωδα κρυχει βωκοδ Αννιβαλ δεμαδ," *

from which Hannibal concluded that he should return safely from Rome, and die and be buried in Lybia. The real meaning was not discovered until his defeat and suicide, when, to escape the armies of Scipio, he drank poison in Libyssa, in Bithynia—the real locality designated by the term Λιβυωδα.

The oracle of Serapis was considered so especially sacred that it was believed that any one who touched it without warrant would be immediately engulfed in the earth. So prevalent was this belief that, when the Emperor Theodosius decreed the destruction of idols, even the Christian soldiers refused to touch the image of Serapis, lest they should be engulfed.†

Although yielding, in antiquity, to the time-honored fanes of Dodona and Lybia, in extent of influence, political as well as religious, the oracle at Delphi surpassed them all. At the voice of the Pythia nations rose and fell; institutions were created and abrogated;‡ colonies were founded and regulated;§ and, under the shadow of the Delphic temple, a power grew into existence which controlled the political status of Greece, and all its component kingdoms; and constituted, in fact, the secret of Grecian unity.

When Delphi first attained the pre-eminence among sacred sites which distinguished it throughout the period of Grecian

* "Libyssan earth shall cover Hannibal's body."

† Chovet, p. 53.

‡ Herodotus attributes to the instructions of the Pythia the code of laws which Lycurgus established at Sparta.—Herodotus, i., 65.

§ Grote, ii., 64.

history, remains an unsettled question. The author above cited supposes this oracle, as well as Dodona, to have been a remnant of the ancient worship of Jehovah, and points out the resemblance between the name Parnassus—of which the Greek affords no satisfactory etymology—and the Hebrew term *Parai-Nahas*, signifying the cave of prophecy. Here he supposes Javan—the Greek Ion—to have erected a temple to Jehovah, whence the Greeks called it the Mount of Jove. This argument he strengthens by a reference to the mysterious inscription το ει, which surmounted the entrance of each successive temple, to the meaning of which the most ancient traditions afford no clue. Accepting the το as the simple definite article, the ει he assumes to be a Greek rendering of the Hebrew Jehovah. Of this mysterious word it should be remembered that we know only the consonants—the vowels being those of Adonai—the Lord—but the real pronunciation is supposed to have resembled I-hi-wah, conveying the idea of breath or life. We know that the signification of this word was I Am,* therefore, whether the ει be a modification of I-hi-wah, or only a tense of ει μι—I am—it presents a remarkable analogy to the Hebrew name.†

The divinity originally worshipped at Delphi was not Apollo, but Bacchus, or Διονυσος. How the worship came to be transferred we are not informed; but we know that the tripod was originally sacred to Bacchus, and the ecstacies of the Pythia, under the influence of the magic vapor, are not dissimilar to those of the Bacchante. The worship of Διονυσος was introduced into Greece from Arabia—the original word was Arabic. Dickenson conjectures it to have been a corruption of Du Sina, or the God of Sinai—possibly of the Hebrew Jehovah Nissi.‡

The name by which the Pythian temple is known in the Iliad and Odyssey, is Pytho; and it is doubtful whether by this term is intended Delphi or the adjacent oracle of Crisa.

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* Exodus, iii., 14. † Dickenson, p. 101. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 105.

The latter term is indicated by the Homeric hymn as the seat of the oracle.*

Strabo tells us that the extensive domain in this region belonged originally to Crisa; and that the town was destroyed and its extensive territory confiscated to Delphi by order of the Amphictyonic council.† A similar fate befell the town of Cirrha, which was accused of an affront to the temple of Apollo. The Amphictyonic council adjudged it to be disfranchised, and it became a port of Delphi.‡

In these events we find a clue to the secret of the immense influence exercised by the Delphic oracles. The Grecian principalities, separate and independent governments, having each its own institutions, laws, and usages, exposed to constant rivalries and conflicting interests, would have been harassed by perpetual conflicts but for the organization of the Amphictyonic council, whose principal sessions were held at Delphi. The Dolopes, Ionians, Thessalians, Œnians, Magnesians, Dorians, Melians, Phocians, Bœotians, Locrians, Achæans, and Acharnanians, sent hither their most eminent sages; and here their combined wisdom regulated the internal relations between these states, decided their controversies, and constituted, as it were, a general government for united Greece. Ostensibly organized for the protection of the sacred temple,§ this council was not long in utilizing the institution itself, as the most effectual means of promulgating their decrees—giving the divine sanction to the conclusions of their own wisdom, and effecting, through the religious instincts of the people, results which their own authority might sometimes have failed to obtain.

Although these counsellors were in theory of equal dignity, and each state entitled to equal representation in the synod, circumstances ere long threw a preponderance—silently acknowledged, although not formally recognized—into the

* *Εν Κρίσῃ ποιήσαι 'υποπτοχε Παρνησσοῖο*, v. 92.

† Strabo, ix., 418. ‡ Pausanias, v. 37.

§ Æschines de falsa Legislatione, 284, 285.

hands of the Dorians. For a long period, certain families of Doric extraction had controlled the municipal government of Delphi. From these were chosen the five priests of Apollo, called ὅσιοι or holy,* under whom subsisted a regular government, a senate, archons, prytanes, etc.† These are the Delphic nobles, chosen by lot, whom Euripides commemorates as sitting near the tripod.‡ When the Amphictyonic council desired to utilize the oracle for political purposes, it became necessary to conciliate these authorities; and thus the ruling and priestly families obtained a controlling voice in the deliberations of the synod. §

These confederate powers appear to have neglected no means of acquiring universal influence among the Grecian states. Nothing was omitted that could charm the eye, conciliate the affections, gratify the tastes and feelings, or flatter the national vanity. The temple, originally a mere laurel hut, they enriched, until, for wealth and magnificence, it was second to none in Greece.‖ They instituted festivals and competitive games, which drew together Grecians from all parts of the Confederacy, who were here united under one common Amphictyony.¶ They established the calendar which originated with the alternation of the religious festivals, and thus brought all the tribes into, as it were, one religious community. They constructed roads by which safe access was secured from all parts of Greece, not only to the Delphic temple, but to all other sanctuaries which were considered under Apolline protection. These roads were pronounced sacred, as having been originally instituted by the gods, and

* Plutarch, Quaestiones Graeci, ix. † Boeckh. ‡ Euripides, *Ion*, 415.

§ These Delphic nobles appear to have possessed the power of life and death over even royal visitors. Euripides makes them sentence Creusa to death for having attempted the life of Ion.

"Δελφων 'ανακτες 'ωρεσαν τετροροιφη
Θανειν εμην δεσποιναν 'ου ρηψη μια."

Euripides, *Ion*, 1222.

‖ Strabo, lib. ix. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16.

¶ Curtius, vol. ii., p. 23.

the most audacious robber dared not profane them.* They were of a uniform gauge, in order that the festive and racing chariots might be at liberty to visit all the sanctuaries. With their festive meetings, they combined fairs which brought the products of different regions into comparison; thus the sanctuaries became marts of trade, and laid the foundation of commercial intercourse. With the gold which flowed into their coffers they established a regular system of exchange, and became the controlling money-centre of Greece. Finally, they brought together the finest specimens of art, and thus fostered a generous rivalry among the tribes, while they expanded and cultivated their refinement and taste.

As the influence of the oracle extended, its sources of information increased, and its stores of knowledge were proportionately enlarged. Visitors from different regions brought with them their languages, which were acquired by the Delphian priesthood; they brought also information of the topography of the various regions of their residence, and descriptions of their journeyings, by land or sea, which the priests collated, and thus acquired a knowledge of geography, terrestrial and marine, which was beyond the reach of the world at large. By comparing accounts of one voyage with another, they were enabled to establish coast-lines with a degree of accuracy of which their very informants could form no conception. In like manner, they ascertained the progress of events, the political tendencies, and many of the secrets of state and remote regions, and were at liberty to announce, as if by divine inspiration, facts which they had gleaned by adroit inquiries or deduced by logical inference therefrom.† When Egypt first became open to the Greeks, Delphi extended the right hand of fellowship to the Libyan and other oracles, and thus became possessed of many of those

* Curtius, vol. ii., p. 36.

† "The oracles were, in every respect, not only the provident eye, not only the religious conscience of the Greek nation, but also its memory."—Curtius ii., p. 42.

secrets of science in which the Egyptians surpassed the rest of the world. Thus the Delphic oracle became the repository of the wealth, the wisdom, the art-culture, and the recondite knowledge of the then civilized world.

The medium through which the divine decrees were imparted at the Delphic oracle was the Pythia. For this function the priests usually selected a young girl of a nervous and excitable constitution, and at the age when hysterical symptoms are most apt to predominate. She was required to drink and to bathe in the sacred waters of the Castalian Spring, which we may suppose to have either possessed some medicinal efficacy, or to have been drugged expressly for the purpose. She was then seated on the tripod which stood over a gulf or narrow chasm near the stone called the navel of the earth*—so called from a tradition that two eagles, let loose by Jupiter at opposite ends of the earth, met at this spot, whence was supposed to issue the prophetic vapor. When this vapor had permeated the body of the Pythia she forthwith passed into a state of trance, accompanied with violent convulsions, and uttered inarticulate sounds and incoherent phrases which were interpreted as the exposition of the will of the God.†

It is not probable that at this early period of her ministry the Pythia was a conscious participant in any imposture. Readers who are familiar with the experiments of Mesmer, which attracted so much attention at the close of the last century, and the *baquet* or caldron, by the inhalation of whose vapors he produced such remarkable trances in his patients, will comprehend that the vapor absorbed into the body of the Pythia induced what we now call the clairvoyant state. Were we to accept the theory of modern clairvoyant philosophers, that the spirit in this state becomes partially independent of

* ομφαλος γας.—Euripides, *Ion*, 223.

† C'était dans un état d'extase, d'enthousiasme, d'exaltation nerveuse, ou dans un songe du ministre du dieu, que celui-ci se communiquait. Cette extase, cette surexcitation cérébrale, cette sorte de délire, dans lequel entrait le divin lorsqu'il s'imaginait être possédé par le dieu, etait regardé comme un effet de l'inspiration.—Léon Renier.

the body, and enabled to apprehend facts that lie beyond the range of physical perception, we have a ready explanation of the statements of ancient historians that the Pythia could describe with exactness events transpiring in other quarters of the world; but could foretell only in words of dark and mysterious import. So with the theory that the operator controls the actions and utterances of the patient during the mesmeric trance. Were this established, we could perceive a ready mode by which the priest—not the God—could speak through the mouth of the Pythia, without resorting to the common device of ventriloquism. Be this as it may, the convulsions and ecstasies of the Pythia were undeniable facts, and bear too close a resemblance to the trances of the mesmeric *clairvoyante* to leave any doubt that they proceeded from a similar source.

Commencing the exercise of her functions in early youth, the Pythia usually retained her position until an advanced period of life. By this time she was herself a priestess, and, in all probability, no longer the unconscious tool but the intelligent and crafty confederate of the priests. In advanced age she would probably be less susceptible to the influence of the vapors which entered her body through the tripod, and it is not unlikely that, under these circumstances, her raptures were simulated and her responses intelligently delivered.*

While Delphi continued a bond of union between the states of Greece, the power that it exercised was supreme. But when various states, relying on their own superiority, withdrew from the Amphictyonic league, its influence began to decline. One or two single states, rising into prominence, acquired undue weight with the authorities at Delphi; and the priesthood began to temporize, and alternately conciliate one state and

* It is not, however, to be supposed that all the responses of the oracle were necessarily vague or delusive. The priests possessed not only a wisdom beyond the generality of their contemporaries, but a knowledge of events, derived from especial sources of information which they were enabled to command, which, in many instances, undoubtedly rendered their responses of the utmost value.

another, as prompted by its own interests. From this, the step to venality and treachery was not difficult, and we accordingly find the Pythia, at the time of the Persian wars and of the Macedonian invasion, prophesying in the interests of the enemies of Greece. When once it had become evident that the responses of the god were to be bought, the oracle necessarily fell into discredit.* Even the sanctity of the temple ceased to be respected. It was plundered by the Phocians,† by the Gauls under Brennus,‡ who carried its chief treasures to Tolosa, where, many years afterward, they were discovered on its capture by Carpio—by Sylla§—by Nero‖—and finally by Constantine, who enriched his cities with the sacred tripods,¶ and decorated his throne with the bronze serpent presented by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa, of which it is said one column exists at the present day.**

The genuineness of the Pythian prophecies was so generally believed that even the early Christians did not venture to dispute it, but attributed them to demoniac inspiration. To this theory we may attribute the generally-received tradition of the miraculous silence imposed on them at the birth of Christ —a tradition not verified by history—and the prophetic announcement of the coming Christian dispensation which, by a species of pious fraud, the mediæval ecclesiastics put into their mouths.†† This belief was undisputed until a skeptical Dutch writer, named Anthony Van Dale, took up the question seriously, and established beyond a peradventure that whatever supernatural element the oracles appeared to contain was simply the result of human ingenuity.‡‡ In the present day we have gone to the opposite extreme, and are too apt to

* Cicero de Divinatione. ii., 56. † Pausanias, x., 21.

‡ Strabo, iv., 188. § Dio Cassius, vi., 46. ‖ Pausanias, x., 7.

¶ Gibbon, c. xvii. ** *Clarke's Travels*, vol. ii., p. 75.

†† Van Dale, ch. i.

‡‡ "Van Dale prouva . . . que les diables n'avaient jamais rendu aucune oracle, n'avaient opéré aucun prodige, ne s'étaient jamais mélé de rien, et qu'il n'y avait eu des véritables démons que les fripons qui avaient trompé les hommes."—Voltaire.

think and speak of the oracles as mere vulgar impostures organized for the benefit of a designing priesthood. Far be that idea from our minds. Although the oracle, doubtless, acquired its influence through the medium of popular superstition and the employment of illusory devices, it would be difficult to over-estimate the benefits that it conferred upon Greece and on the world at large. It formed the centre where knowledge was gathered and whence it was disseminated; it cultivated the intellect, softened the manners, and civilized the usages of the nations who received its instructions; it reconciled the differences between the tribes; it commanded civil feuds to cease, and kindred states mutually to seek and render aid; it fostered amity and brotherhood; it established and regulated political institutions the wisest—a religion the most practically useful —and a national life and character beside which all contemporaneous nations may justly be styled barbarians. In the words of an eminent German writer, "The Delphic Apollo really stands in the centre of all the higher tendencies of scientific inquiry and artistic effort as the guiding genius of spiritual life, which he, surrounded by the chosen heads of the nation, conducts to a grand and clear expression of its totality, by this means founding an ideal unity of the Greek people."*

* Curtius, ii., p. 85.

REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS.

SCIENCE.

The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL. 8vo., pp. 606. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

THE questions of the antiquity of man and of the unity of the human race have of late years become fruitful themes of discussion. Hitherto the scientific argument has been all on one side; the advocates of the theory of a comparatively recent origin having relied exclusively on the argument from Scripture, an argument which had this notable defect, that it convinced those only who did not require convincing. The present work takes up the question on principles purely scientific; meets the arguments advanced from geology with those of a similar character; and discusses the questions, as such should always be discussed, on the simple basis of physical and moral evidences. Of the latter character are the alleged facts that history can be distinctly traced to a period in the neighborhood of three thousand years before the Christian era; that we find the human race, at the very outset, with a full-fledged civilization; that all nations have certain uniform traditions; and that about the same period history stops short in all cases; or, in the words of our author:

"The records of all these nations go back, we say, to B. C. 2000 or 2700—we there come to a dead halt—we cannot go any further. If we examine their religion, their language, their architecture, we find that they are related. If we question them of their origin, most of them tell us of a *Deluge*, some of them of an *ark and eight persons*."—p. 20.

On these facts it may reasonably be predicated that the *primâ facie* case is with the Mosaic theory; and that the burden of proof rests with its opponents. This has not been disputed; but the vast majority of scientific writers have met this with arguments from geology, from remains of human workmanship found in river gravel, and under peat which must have been thousands of years in formation; from ancient stone circles and megalithic monuments in Western Europe, and the traces of a regular gradation in civilization in the various strata of fossil remains. These are the arguments which the work undertakes to answer in detail.

One strong point that Mr. Southall makes is the fact that we find no relics of a stone age, of cave men, or of any progression from a savage state in any of the early centres of civilization. We find them all in regions which lay far remote—of which no early history is preserved—and of which the early settlers must have vanished from the face of the earth long before they were explored by the ancestors of the races now inhabiting them. But, behind the civilizations of Babylon, Rome, and Greece, there are no such traces. It is justly argued that, had these nations worked their way up to a splendid civilization from the state of troglodytes, there must have been some evidence subsisting.

"The obliteration could not have been *complete*. There must have been *some* shading off—some straggling cairn or cromlech or "round tower"—some tradition —some rude Pelasgic wall—some archæolithic grotto or gravel-bed—to show that men lived before Menes and Cheops."—p. 44.

From this starting-point our author proceeds to answer the scientific arguments in detail. He begins with the fossil deposits; and here calls attention to the fact that there are, at certain points in the ocean, contiguous currents varying fifteen degrees in temperature. Of course, the fauna in the cold current are of an entirely different type from those in the warm; and, were the sea at this region to become dry land, we should find

"two very different-looking deposits, containing two series of remains, really contemporaneous, but indicating such difference of condition that our present geological theories would lead us to class them as belonging to *successive* periods, sufficiently separated to allow of climatic changes."—p. 57.

The fossil deposits are, however, left rather abruptly to take up the question of the megalithic monuments and tumuli. And here the fact is noted that, for the monuments in England, at least, tradition assigns a date of erection; the ancient chroniclers do the same; and it is hardly probable that they would assign a date more *recent* than the fact. Roman coins and iron implements have, moreover, been found in all these supposed relics of the stone age. In like manner the dolmens especially selected by the antiquaries as remnants of the palæolithic age have been found to contain Roman pottery, tiles, and coins, while in the dolmens of Brittany we find specimens of what are called the flint, bronze, and iron ages existing simultaneously; and, which is still more remarkable, there are tribes in Asia who still erect just such dolmens and menhirs as in European regions are supposed to indicate a hoary antiquity. The lacustrine villages in Switzerland, which are supposed to belong to the stone age, contain implements of iron and vessels of glass, and, in some cases, fragments of Roman tile and pottery, and even Roman and Gallic coins. All these discoveries are in conflict with the idea of a prehistoric antiquity.

The Danish kjökken möddings are also cited by the archæologists as evidences of great antiquity, the implements contained in them being all of flint and of the rudest workmanship. Unfortunately, specimens of Roman pottery have been found in these very heaps, and they contain no remains of any extinct animal except the urus, which existed as late as the sixteenth century.

A very full account of the bone-caves is given, from which it would appear that the occupants of these caves possessed a certain primitive civilization, and bore traces of Asiatic origin. Numerous remains of extinct animals are found there, but, in the absence of any evidence when these animals became extinct, their presence does not prove an antiquity of enormous extent; particularly as these regions were a *terra incognita* for some two or three thousand years of the world's recognized existence. These caves, moreover, were not, probably, *all* habitations—the position of the

relics showing, in most instances, that they must have been washed into the cave by floods. The discoveries in the caves, and also in the mound at Solutré, go very far to show that the now extinct animals must have existed in the neolithic or polished stone age—a period not exceeding three or four thousand years ago.

The arguments derived from the river gravel and peat, our author answers by showing that Roman pottery has been found in the very lowest strata!

"Roman remains, articles of iron, and boats (one freighted with Roman bricks), have been found in the lowest strata—showing that two thousand, or two thousand five hundred years is abundantly sufficient for the whole deposit."—p. 371.

In reviewing the arguments of Mr. Southall, we must admit that, assuming the facts to be as he represents them, he has made out a pretty good case for his view of the question. At all events, he has taken the proper ground for discussion, not meeting the scientific arguments with the simple denial of their credibility, but going boldly into the facts, and discussing the question from their own stand-point. If the skeptics are ever to be convinced, it must be conceded that this is the only way.

At the same time, it is to be regretted that he has fallen into the common error of denouncing science as the adversary of Christianity and revelation. True science is inimical to none. It is in its nature impartial. The adversaries or opponents of a particular theory may use its discoveries as they may be advised. But the only way to meet them is not by denunciations of science, whose object is truth, and which is necessarily regardless of results (however scientific men may use or abuse its discoveries), but by patient investigation, and judicious use of the very means which science places at our disposal. In the management of this very work, Mr. Southall has called in the aid of science, and its companion logic, as emphatically as the scientist whose theories he opposes; and, whatever conclusion the reader may draw after the perusal of this volume, as to the main question at issue, he must admit that it is one which science must necessarily decide.

The Sexes Throughout Nature. By ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL. 16mo., pp. 240. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

WE have here a full cry in favor of woman's rights from one of the staunchest champions of the cause. As far as we can trace out the thread of her argument amid all the learned discussions of the "genesis of higher organisms," the "growing necessity for evolution of the differentiation in primordial cells," and a great deal of the same sort, from which we can only infer that the author, although a "Reverend," is a believer in the philosophical theory of evolution rather than the Scriptural doctrine of a special creation—she undertakes to establish that the female is not the inferior, but the *equivalent* of the male—what-

ever that may mean—that the inferior development which she attains is mainly due to the excess of the reproductive and maternal functions, which are peculiarly her own—(what a glorious prospect this opens for spinsters!) and that, in fine, she is to

"'Choose her own work, and learn to do it in her own way, instructed only to maintain the natural balance of all her many admirably-appointed faculties."—p. 116.

If this is the sole conclusion at which the reverend author arrives, and we have not been able to discover any other, we must confess that we find it difficult to perceive the relevancy of a great part of the matter introduced into the volume. We cannot, for instance, recognize the *propriety*—the reader may accept the word in what sense he pleases—of the following passage at the very commencement of the work:

"The slight differentiation which would suffice to inaugurate an almost homogeneous organism, must be inadequate so to redistribute the forces in two cells of highly complex molecules as to enable their union to evolve the more heterogeneous organism. Hence the evolution of sperm and germ cells must correspond with the evolution of their parent structures."—p. 23

So with what is called the evidence *in proof* (*sic*) of an approximate universal equivalence of the sexes. This "evidence in proof" is derived from a comparison of the male and female organs of plants (!); the superior energies of the working bee and the female spider, balanced by the superior activity of muscle and greater sexual fervor of the males (!); the greater size of the female fish associated with the entire absence of parental instinct which, in these vertebrates, belongs exclusively to the males; the slight difference between reptiles of different sexes; the stronger maternal instincts of the cetaceans who, in consequence, we are informed, do not grow tusks; the brilliant plumage of the male gallinaceous birds, who leave all domestic duties to the females, as compared with the less ornamented singing birds, who assist in nest-building and the care of the young; the extra male appendages of the grazing animals, such as horns, etc., which are denied to the females, because their strength and vigor is demanded in other directions; the more complex structure of the female mammalia as an offset against the extra male size, &c., &c. All this is evidently intended to prove something; but what it does prove, so far as men and women are concerned, it is difficult to comprehend. It certainly has no particular bearing upon the first distinct theory which is advanced in regard to the relations of the sexes in the human race.

"The girl, starved by conventionality in body and mind, hinders the evolution of the race, or entails upon it a weak and unbalanced constitution. The great underlying cause of all is a false theory, that because women are to be the mothers of the race, therefore they are not to be the thinkers or the pioneers in enterprise."—p. 111.

A little further on, however, we find a very positive theory, which, after all, may perhaps embrace the conclusion to which the author has been leading us up through the work:

"In the scientific distribution of work, the males, not the females, must be held primarily responsible for the proper *cooking of food*, as for the production of it." —p. 113.

We have not space to follow further this argument in favor of woman's equality, or, rather, in the author's own words, "equivalence." Her book will, in all probability, share the fate of most works of its kind, which all have had hitherto to contend with one insuperable difficulty, namely, that, even were it possible to convince the whole male sex of the absolute equality of the females, the staunchest disbelievers would still remain among the women themselves, of whom the larger and more attractive portion are ineradicably impressed with the conviction that woman was created as a help-meet for man, and so little desire the position which Mrs. Blackwell claims for them that they would indignantly repudiate it were it seriously offered.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Early Kings of Norway; also, an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox. By THOMAS CARLYLE. 16mo, pp. 257. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

THE Scandinavian countries appear to Anglo-Saxon minds so remote, and their territory such a region of fable, that we fail to realize how intimately their history is connected with our own. When, on the perusal of the present volume, we learn, or are reminded, that in early days the Norwegians fought battle after battle on English and Scottish soil; that they at one time held England tributary; occupied portions of Ireland, including Dublin, and compelled the sovereign himself to do homage; that they seized and held absolute possession of Shetland, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isles of Sodor and Man; that they were the direct ancestors of the Normans, who for generations ruled England, and whose blood mingles equally with the Saxon in the English of the present day; and that they were the earliest discoverers of the American continent, whose coast they seem to have explored as far as the southern point of Florida; we cannot but recognize that these people play an important part in the early history of England and America, and that their sagas may well possess for us an interest which they would scarcely inspire among the nations of southern Europe.

Those who have been accustomed to associate the style of Carlyle with every thing that is inflated, inverted, and grandiose, will be

surprised to find in the present work qualities exactly the opposite. The language throughout is terse and abrupt; words are omitted which seem essential to the sense; and whose absence in some instances gives to the expressions a sense entirely different from that intended to be conveyed, as in the following instance:

"Rolf, the Ganger, speedily got into his ships again, got to the coast of France with his sea-robbers, got infeofment by the poor King of France in the fruitful, shaggy desert which is still called Normandy, land of the Northmen; and there, gradually felling the forests, banking the rivers, tilling the fields, *became, during the next two centuries, Wilhelmus Conquestor.*"—p. 13.

We find throughout such an absence of the usual articles and connecting phrases, that the book reads more like the jottings in a note-book, or memoranda for a proposed composition, than a finished work. As for the phraseology, it has not only ceased to be grandiloquent, but becomes at times positively slangy and vulgar.

These peculiarities may be the result of a close adherence to the Icelandic manuscripts, from which most of the work is taken. For it is a remarkable fact that nearly all the history of the old Norse kings has been preserved in Iceland rather than in Norway. The Icelanders have always been a comparatively literary race, and in their secluded position availed themselves of the long winter evenings to prepare the records for which the Norwegians themselves were too much occupied with their perpetual wars. These old sea-kings were a picturesque race—and in reading of them we not only recognize the qualities of their descendants—Cœur de Lion and the Black Prince—but many of the traits of the heroes of the Homeric epos. As Carlyle justly remarks, the figures of Olaf Tryggveson and Olaf the Saint, are not dissimilar to those of Achilles or Diomede, lacking, of course, the magic veil of poetry which Homer cast over his heroes, but perhaps, for this very reason, more true to fact.

These Norse kings appear to have been in perpetual conflict, not only with one another and foreign powers, but also with their own subjects. Their rule was essentially that of the strongest. The more frequent conflicts appear to have arisen out of their efforts to compel the old Bonders to embrace Christianity, which, though readily adopted by the different sovereigns, proved any thing but acceptable to the people. The history of Norway is continued to its incorporation with Denmark, A. D. 1397.

In "The Early Kings of Norway," Mr. Carlyle has given us a very interesting work, notwithstanding certain defects of style; which new-style, in spite of its abruptness and homeliness, we vastly prefer to the old, of which he favors us with a specimen at the close of the work, in the epilogue.

The essay on the Portraits of John Knox is in marked contrast to the preceding work, written in a clear, simple, nervous style, entirely

free from the usual faults of this author. The inquiry as to the genuineness of the different portraits is not particularly interesting. They appear to have been all taken from the Beza portrait, which Carlyle justly describes as "a blot of ignorant confusion."—(p. 182.) Beza had evidently never seen Knox, and only guessed at his appearance as he did at a great part of his history. The Verheiden and the Torphichen portraits are evidently copies of the same, although the latter has contrived to lengthen and darken the face until it wears an aspect positively Jewish. The Somerville portrait, which Carlyle believes to be a genuine likeness, presents a face altogether superior to the others, but with some points of resemblance, which show that Beza may have had some indicia on which to frame his *Icon*. The Goulart portrait is evidently a likeness of Tyndale. The interest of this essay is derived not so much from the discussions about the portraits, as to the admirable sketches of Knox himself, excerpts from his writings and anecdotes of his personal history, of which the author justly remarks :

"Perhaps it may be possible from these, even on the part of outsiders and strangers to Knox, to catch some glimpses of his inward physiognomy, though all credible traces of his outward or bodily lineaments appear hitherto to have fallen impossible."—p. 205.

Fears for Democracy, regarded from the American point of view. By CHARLES INGERSOLL. 8vo, pp. 297. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

THE unsatisfactory condition into which our American government has been subsiding for years has called forth the gravest anticipations from all earnest and thinking people; and many of the warmest friends of republican institutions have begun seriously to debate the question, whether they are not, after all, destined to prove a failure; in other words, whether they are not rapidly tending toward extinction, or, rather, absorption into a centralized and quasi-monarchial government, republican only in name. It is to these honest doubters that Mr. Ingersoll addresses this *brochure;* in which he shows that, while the situation is undoubtedly grave, the fault is not in the institutions, but in the neglect of the citizens themselves; and that no point of demoralization has at any time been reached which cannot be effectually remedied by prompt action, earnest patriotism, and conscientious attention to duty, on the part of the people, which is, and will always continue to be, the governing power, so long as it does not voluntarily or negligently delegate its authority into the hands of incompetent or unprincipled substitutes.

Mr. Ingersoll takes up the history of democracy from the outset. It is shown in the first instance that democracy is no natural system.

"Through men's weakness, the inclination is to power; to glitter and show; to the aristocratic; to high birth, with wealth for its accessory, and the qualities of the man consigned to the chapter of accidents. This yearning is seen in every country. It is seen in the United States in the ridiculous assumption of titles of honor, and the adoration of foreign rank, with a certain uneasiness at having none of our own."—p. 11.

At the time of the Revolution, the ideas of the educated classes in America were far from democratic; but democracy had nevertheless become a social fact, and, with the change of government became political as well as social. It was disclaimed by the leaders; but it was inevitable.

"Democracy was a fate, and the only open question was, how much democracy?"—p. 14.

The men who met in convention in May, 1787, regarded the inevitable growth of democracy with dread. Their one object was to curb it within bounds. That they yielded only so much democracy as the people were determined to have, is evident from Washington's answer to the question what laws he had given his country. "As good as they can bear." The independence of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments; the life tenure of the judiciary; the strong opposition made to conceding the election of either branch of the legislature to the people; and the strenuous efforts in the convention to give to the legislature the choice of an executive; all show that the power of the people was regarded with distrust. But the expression of the popular will was too strong; and democracy asserted itself by the mouths of those very men who were conscientiously most opposed to it.

"Thus the convention, so undemocratic in faith, was democratic in works, and found access to rule and order from the confusion which had prevailed since the close of the war, by the wide door of democracy."—p. 71.

For some time after the framing of the Constitution, the government remained in the hands of the federal party, which comprised most of the statesmanship and education of the country, and whose fears of the democratic principle were unchanged, and its efforts to resist its expansion throughout the country. For this very reason it was unable to continue in power. Washington and Adams, with the statesmen who surrounded them, had done nothing to forfeit the confidence of the people; but they mistrusted the people, and the people, in return, mistrusted them.

"There was a mutual terror. Among the federal leaders it was the terror of the mob—among the people at large, a terror of monarchy. Each thought a monster was to be loosed on them."—p. 93.

The long continuance of democracy at the head of our government, and the satisfaction which, for a quarter of a century it continued to

impart, is undoubtedly due to the peculiar wisdom of the first three democratic administrations. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, although democrats, had been reared in the same school of statesmanship with the framers of the constitution—to which number, in fact, two of them belonged. Their government was, accordingly, calm, temperate, and judicious. But the expansion of democracy among the people had developed new elements, which the founders of the government, or even of the party, had not foreseen. The presidential office had become an object of ambition. The contest between Crawford, Adams, Jackson, Calhoun, and Clay, was a struggle for popular power. Here Mr. Ingersoll points out one great cause of the decline of worth and principle in American democracy.

"To-day the American looks back, and asks himself the question: Are personal ambitions the cause that so much true democracy has become nothing but falsehood, or are they only an attending circumstance, the cause lying deeper?"—p. 117.

It may occur to some readers that Mr. Ingersoll has here stated the great, perhaps fatal, defect in the principle of democracy in its extended sense, as distinguished from simple republicanism. This is, of course, too profound a question to be discussed within the limits of a brief review like the present; but the fact remains, that, under three democratic administrations of unexampled excellence, this pernicious spirit arose and expanded, till it threatens to overshadow our whole land. Whether this be due to the development of democratic principles, or simply to the general expansion of the wealth and population of the country, is a question which we will not undertake to decide. The change itself the author distinctly recognizes:

"Since we worshipped the sober democracy of Mr. Jefferson, its altars have been profaned with corruptions and environed with perils which in his time were unknown."—p. 121.

The main feature of the present evils, as Mr. Ingersoll distinctly points out, is that government has ceased to be responsible to the people. Although the people are supposed to appoint delegates, and the delegates candidates, the people have ceased to perform their part, and another power—that of the ambitious party leaders—has usurped the people's place. This is forcibly instanced in the nomination of Presidents Pierce and Lincoln, who, when offered as candidates, were almost unknown. Under the first of these presidents commenced the dissensions which culminated in the war of secession. Had the other not, from his very obscurity, been assumed to be the mere tool of a new and dreaded party, his election might not have been made in the South the watchword for rebellion.

Mr. Ingersoll has well shown that present party organizations are such that every interest is bound up with presidential patronage and

aspirations. The main question asked as to the qualifications of any candidate for even the smallest political office is whether he favors the aspirations of this or that candidate for the presidency. Certain organizations have obtained power to control the votes for every office, from the lowest to the highest. Thus every election is the President's—that is, for or against him.* Thus the spirit of local independence is virtually expelled.

"Such is the power that corrupts the politics of the country, and brings upon democracy doubts which are thickening around us. Suffrage represents, not the people, but combinations that usurp their place, and whose contrivances are the counterfeit of the popular will."—p. 127.

The secret of this state of affairs is, as Mr. Ingersoll justly intimates, the citizens' neglect of duty and indifference to the task they took on themselves—"the task of the control and mastery over those who serve them"—(129). The average American citizen does nothing toward procuring a representation of his will beyond simply depositing his ballot at the poll. Is it not, however, possible that the secret may lie a little deeper than this?

Mr. Ingersoll dwells with severity, not, perhaps, undeserved, on the extension of the right of suffrage to a multitude of ignorant negroes; but it may well be doubted whether the negroes are any more incompetent, as they are certainly not more venal, than the thousands of white voters who are made citizens annually, for the avowed purpose of trafficking in their votes at the election which may be approaching.

The history of the slavery agitation is very thoroughly and ably discussed. Mr. Ingersoll has shown that the South hopelessly damaged their cause at the Charleston Convention, by abandoning the principle of State equality to set up the absurd dogma of the inalienable right to establish the law of slavery in every territory by carrying a single slave thither. The course of both parties, North and South, at the commencement of the secession movement, is severely commented on. The government at the North had passed into the hands of office-seekers and placemen, many of whom were willing to let the South drift out of the Union altogether, if, by that means, they could continue themselves in power. The South, on the other hand, wanted, not disunion, but justice; which the people at the North were generally desirous to give them. But the South, like the North, was in the hands of ambitious leaders, who had motives of their own for breaking up the Union al-

* In this city many will remember when the then U. S. District Attorney was actually *removed from office* by the President, because he had seen fit to vote against the candidate for Mayor of New York whose pretensions had been approved at Washington.

ther; hence the attack on Fort Sumter, after which war became
ritable.

"Negro slavery found and left, after all the agitation of it, in the people of the
n-slave-holding States, a feeling as true to the slaveholders as to themselves;
t instantly the cry was war, when the affront came at Fort Sumter."—p. 218.

The political history of the United States, after the war, is fully, and,
in some instances, scathingly dealt with. Here, however, Mr. Ingersoll
overlooks one fact, that the usurpations of the party in power would
never have been possible but for the incendiary course of certain leaders
of the opposition, stirring up the South anew, destroying the "fine
temper," of which General Grant had spoken, and stimulating them in-
directly to verbal and even actual outrages, which made the harsh
course of the Government appear, whether correctly or not, a necessity.
It was the old story of wrong on both sides; and of parties, not the
people, controlling public action.

The remedy which Mr. Ingersoll suggests is Federalism in its high
and true sense; namely, the people taking into their own hands the
affairs of the States, cities, counties, and townships, and thus, by their
own conduct, depriving the centre of that usurped power of the States,
which, as he justly remarks, is not wholly due to the war and the party
now in power, but a growth which had been sedulously cultivated for
thirty years before the war began.

"There is not one fault of the institutions of the country, which they vainly
would attempt to correct by constitutional change, that is not open to correction
by the people themselves. Let the people so administer them as to give, in the
Union, their independence to the States, and in the States, their independence to
local governments."—p. 296.

It will, of course, be remembered that Mr. Ingersoll is a politician of
strong partisan feeling, and that, therefore, there will necessarily be
much in his book with which those only of his own party will agree.
At the same time, the *brochure* contains no small amount of wisdom, and
much valuable advice, from which all, without respect to party, might
equally profit.

Spain and the Spaniards. By N. L. THIÉBLIN. 16mo. pp. 404. B
ton: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingh
1875.

THE reader who opens this book with ideas of romance or p
derived from Don Quixote, Gil Blas, or Washington Irving, may
for certain disappointment. The Spain of to-day is a very p

region, indeed. If we may rely on Mr. Thiéblin's account, it is no longer even picturesque. The object of the work, to be sure, is not so much to portray Spanish scenery, manners, and customs, as to give accounts of Don Carlos and his generals, the old Countess de Montéjo, the curé of Santa Cruz, and other prominent characters whom he interviews in genuine reporter style. One of the most interesting figures in the book is old General Elio, the leading Carlist commander, and one of the first who formed the early Carlist party in 1833. A life-long conflict his would appear to have been; yet he speaks favorably of the ex-Queen Isabella, and seems to consider her a much better woman and a much better queen than she is generally represented.

Santa Cruz, the bandit curate, is another remarkable character. Savage as any bandit of the middle ages, ignorant to the point of ordering an engineer to blow up an iron bridge with one pound of gunpowder, his cool courage and the complete control which he maintains over his troops, renders him the most formidable of all the Carlist commanders. One more characteristic incident is related of his treatment of a prisoner taken at Endelaza:

"Santa Cruz carried that man for several days with him, but when he learned that, notwithstanding the letters he had sent to the Bayonne papers, giving the particulars of the affair, public opinion in Spain and France still persisted in accusing him of having shot prisoners, he sent word to his captive saying he thought it his duty to justify the accusations of the Liberals, and, therefore, to shoot him."—p. 179.

The warfare between the Carlists and the Republicans appears to have been carried on in a singular manner. They occupied adjacent villages, rarely or never attacking each other, but maintaining a species of mutual watch—the Carlists not being strong enough to attack the Republicans, and the Republicans not sufficiently alert to get at the Carlists.

The dangers of travel would seem, from M. Thiéblin's account, to be very much exaggerated. He appears to have travelled freely without molestation; but what travelling! a bench on the top of a stage-coach, without any support for back or legs, and a mountain of luggage behind, pushing the travellers down whenever the diligence went down hill. And, what was worst of all,

"The coachman, whose box was down below us, was all the way howling horribly, and whipping us right across the face with the interminable whip, the reaction of which, he said, he was unable to control."—p. 107.

Our author has shown us some traits of the Spanish people, which will, if correctly delineated, somewhat modify our general impressions of them. A Spanish mob appears to be the least dangerous of rioters. They will institute a revolution one day, and the next go quietly to a bull-fight. And they are not revengeful. Even Serrano was allowed to

escape in a diguise which would not have baffled very determined pursuers. And the peasantry, if lazy and shiftless, are patient and cheerful under adversity.

"*Quien canta sus males espanta.*—Singing frightens one's ills away, say Spaniards; and, together with the ringing of little bells, acts also as a powerful preventive against the approach of the devil. That is why you seldom meet a genuine Spaniard on the high-road who is not singing, and whose mules' bells are not ringing. And the more hungry they both are, the more loudly the man sings and the mule rings."—p. 259.

EDUCATION.—HINTS FOR NEXT SCHOOL YEAR.

Catalogues of Academies, Institutes, Schools, and Seminaries.

THE few remarks we are about to make here are designed exclusively for parents and guardians. We think it proper to give this timely warning, because we should not consider ourselves justified, under any circumstances, in disappointing the reader by leading him to expect what he is not to receive. Then let none accompany us in our half-hour tour but those who take some interest in knowing which are the best schools, male and female, in this country. Even this class must not expect either descriptions or details. But we shall mention none as worthy of confidence which have not already been described to a greater or less extent in these pages, and not from hearsay, or the representations of interested parties, but from personal observation—the testimony of our eyes and ears.

We have indicated from time to time which, in our judgment, are the best colleges and universities. We have pointed out some additions to that honorable list in another part of our present number. We have often remarked how essential are good preparatory schools to good colleges and universities; nay, we have tried to satisfy the most careless observer, interested in the subject, that the latter cannot exist without the former.

But there are ladies' academies, institutes, seminaries, and schools, which are not merely preparatory, in the ordinary sense of the term—institutions which, while they are not called colleges, afford as high culture and as extensive a scope of knowledge, as even the best of those distinctively known by that appellation. We trust it is needless to say that we do not mean by this any reflection on those female colleges which are confessedly worthy of the name—in fact, worthy of comparison with male colleges of a high rank; we only repeat in other words what we have several times assured our readers, namely, that we know

some ladies' schools that make but modest pretensions, which are vastly superior to some ladies' colleges that make the noisiest and loftiest pretensions.

These facts being plainly understood, we think that no intelligent person will deny that some service may be rendered to the public by placing before it at this season—at the close of the school year—when new school arrangements have to be made, a list of schools, male and female, situated in various parts of the country, which can be confidently recommended.

But let us pause for a moment. It seems there are some who think that, if a school or college is commended this year as being a good institution, it should be spoken of in similar terms next year, or years hence, if any opinion is expressed of it. The slightest reflection will show that this is absurd. No one having any knowledge of the subject need be informed that the character of a school frequently depends on the abilities of one of its teachers. But let us assume that a school owes its high character to the combined efforts of three good instructors, which is often the case. May not one or two of these, or the three, be exchanged for teachers of the opposite character? If they are, should the critic praise on, in order to be consistent? Should the public be assured that the ignorance and imposture of this year are equivalent to the learning and ability of last year, or the year before?

But in order to comprehend the force of this it is necessary to bear in mind a very strange thing; an educational (?) anomaly peculiar to this country; although we can only allude to it now. There are none in the habit of glancing at the newspapers who are not aware that there are various parties in New York who furnish teachers just as coachmen, grooms, chamber-maids, and scullions are furnished. With the enterprising people who furnish the teachers the question is, not how much the candidate knows, but how much he will pay. No matter how ignorant he is, he can have any amount of salary, "when his turn comes," if he will only deposit the corresponding fee, just the same as one pays from one dollar to twenty dollars for a lottery ticket or accident insurance ticket, according as he is prompted by ambition or avarice. The number of poor, credulous men and women, who have lost their remaining two or three dollars by this plan, would seem fabulous if the actual figures were stated. Sometimes, though very rarely, a good teacher, who is in need, resorts to such places. A principal of high reputation, happening to need his services, employs him. The principal, being frank and honest, cheerfully bears testimony, in due time, to the abilities of his new teacher, and, of course, does not deny, when called upon to state the fact, how he got him. This statement is copied or quoted in a circular, with as many similar statements as can be procured; and it is easy to understand that, although its author has been actuated by the most honorable motives,

on one side it serves as a rich bait ; on the other as a two-edged sword. In a word, there are hundreds who depend for their teachers on a system which, in Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden, is held to be downright *escroquêrie*, and the practice of which subjects its disinterested votaries to fine and imprisonment.

But to return to our proper subject. In order that we may not seem to indulge in any undue partiality or favoritism, we will present our select list in alphabetical series. There is no country, having the slightest pretensions to politeness, in which the sentiment "*Place aux dames*" does not find a hearty echo ; but in no other sphere can woman possibly place herself, outside that of the essential domestic duties, in which she is entitled to more honor than in the class-room, surrounded by her pupils. The greatest thinkers of antiquity tell us in their own sublime and impressive way, that to teach, to cultivate the human intellect, is divine; accordingly, we hold that she is the best priestess who gives the best instruction.

The first on our list, in alphabetical sequence, is the *Chegaray Institute*, at Philadelphia, conducted by a lady who is a distinguished member of a family of female educators, whose fame as such is co-extensive with this country. That there is no other school equal to Mme. D'Hervilly's so near the University of Pennsylvania, is not very high praise, we are aware; but it should be remembered that it was because there was nothing which that good-natured city needed more than a first-class young ladies' school that the famous Chegaray Institute was transferred to it from New York.

Cottage Hill Seminary, at Poughkeepsie, is one of the best institutions for young ladies in the "City of Schools." Its system of teaching is liberal and enlightened, and it is conscientiously and successfully carried out. Prof. Wetsell has had ample experience as an instructor, and he has profited by it to the full extent—or, rather, his pupils profit by it.

The *Gannett Institute*, at Boston, is within the atmosphere of a different institution from the University of Pennsylvania. Although its principal is himself a first-class educator, and has a well-selected corps of resident assistants, he secures the additional aid of several of the Harvard professors, each of whom has attained distinction in his particular department.

Since the *Hudson Young Ladies' Seminary* was pretty fully described in our last number, it is almost superfluous even to mention it here; but, as the public has so defective a memory, we may remark that our estimate of the Misses Peake's institution has been more than confirmed by letters which we have received from Hudson, Claverack, and certain other localities in that region.

Locust Hill Seminary, Yonkers, is the only really good school for

young ladies between New York and Poughkeepsie that we know or have heard of. It is conducted by a lady who is thoroughly qualified for the important and honorable position she occupies, and we have seen ample proof that her qualifications are turned to the most judicious account for the benefit of her pupils. Let those who doubt this visit her Seminary, and then all the female institutions at Tarrytown. If they do not agree with us on their return, we will pay the expenses of the trip, provided they indulge in no more expensive luxuries than we do ourselves when making similar researches.

Maplewood Institute for Young Ladies, Pittsfield, Mass., possesses many advantages; situated as it is amid the most picturesque and beautiful scenery of the Attica of America; affording on one side a view of the famous Saddle Mountain, and on each of the other three sides extended views of the Hoosac or Taghanic Mountains. But better than the mountains, the valleys, the tiny lakes, the brooks, and even the finely-shaded, tastefully-adorned grounds of the Institute, is its comprehensive and excellent system of teaching. We can also testify that the principal of Maplewood is one of the good, sensible educators, who bear in mind that the physical as well as the intellectual part, even of a female student, needs nutritious, wholesome food.

Poughkeepsie Female Academy has no superior on the Hudson or elsewhere. Nowhere have we seen more unmistakable evidences of high culture. None who know us will think that we indulge in any favoritism or injustice, when we say that, after we had heard several recitations at Vassar College, and as many at the Poughkeepsie Female Academy, our sincere opinion was that the latter was much more thorough than the former, and produced, in every respect, more creditable results.

Mlle. Rostan's School is acknowledged by all competent, impartial judges who are acquainted with its peculiar character, to stand at the head of all the institutions of its class in the city of New York. The lady who conducts it, and whose name it bears, is a trained educator of the highest rank. She thoroughly studied her profession in Paris, was examined by the most exacting board of educators in France; and how well deserved was the diploma she received from that board many years ago, has been amply proved during the past decade by the large number of her *élèves*, whose superior accomplishments are readily recognized in the most refined society.

St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, N. J., met with a sad affliction last autumn. Very few schools anywhere are more delightfully situated. The Delaware, in one of its broadest, deepest, and brightest windings, glides swiftly in front of the school. The grounds are ample, and finely shaded with both forest trees and shrubbery. In a word, as our readers may remember, it reminded us of some portions of Milton's de-

scription of Eden. The place had always been noted for its salubrity. But no institution, however favorably situated hygienically, can always expect to enjoy immunity from fever. The mere obstruction of a drain for one week may generate the typhoid virus. We have not learned what the cause was in this instance, but we are sure it must have been accidental. Having seen the school in a very flourishing condition, and remembered that no students, male or female, we had seen, looked more remarkably healthy, we were much pained to hear that several of the young ladies had been prostrated by a sudden and violent attack of sickness, and that the school had to be closed. Very soon after, however, we received the gratifying intelligence that the disease had disappeared without having done much damage, and that there need be no fear that it would return. This assurance, on the part of the physicians,* has been verified thus far, and we do not think there is the least danger of any similar outbreak in the future.

Inasmuch as *Fort Edward Institute* educates both sexes, it is entitled to rank, in our present pantheon, between the female and male institutions, more especially as it is incomparably superior, in every important respect, to all the other schools we have visited in which both sexes recite together in the same classes. At Fort Edward the young ladies are as much separated from the young gentlemen, except while they are in class, as they could have been had the different departments they occupy been a mile apart. As for the character of the instruction given at this institution, we need not give our estimate of it any more definite expression at this time than to remark that, if the trustees of Dickinson College could have placed at the head of that institution, five years ago, an educator like Dr. King, instead of being, as it is now, only a third-rate college, it would have ranked with the very best in our country.

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* The following report, for which we cheerfully make room, speaks for itself:

"Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1875.

"I have to-day inspected St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, and find that the cause of the typhoid disease which prevailed there in the beginning of the winter has been removed.

"The alterations made, and the precautions adopted, in accordance with the recommendations contained in the Report of my inspection of 7th January, are in my opinion sufficient to prevent a recurrence of that disease, and to improve greatly the general sanitary condition of the School.

"Pupils may therefore return to the Hall without fear that their health will be affected by any of the influences which produced the recent outbreak of sickness.

"JOHN L. LECONTE.

"With the opinion of Dr. LeConte, as expressed in the above Report, we fully concur.

"FRANKLIN GAUNTT.
"J. HOWARD PUGH."

The Alexander Institute, at White Plains, N. Y., is a pleasantly-situated, well-conducted military boarding-school, where both the minds and bodies of the students are intelligently and successfully disciplined.

Dr. *Holbrook's Military School*, at Sing Sing, N.Y., is inferior to none. Men, or women, of intelligence, who know the head of this institution, need not be informed that he is a thorough instructor. The school is situated about a mile from the village of Sing Sing, in the midst of as picturesque and beautiful a landscape as we have anywhere seen. Intellectually, morally, and physically, the students of Dr. Holbrook receive the best training.

Our readers will remember how much pleased we were on our visit to *Poughkeepsie Military Institute*, which we found in charge of a gentleman who—while apparently he has not reached the meridian of life—has an experience as an educator in Massachusetts and other parts of New England which would seem to imply almost old age. Be this as it may, Prof. Jewett proves, without any ostentation, to all whom it may concern, that he is old enough to understand what constitutes a substantial and wholesome pabulum for the stomachs as well as the minds of his pupils.

There is no school on the Hudson, or, indeed, anywhere in this country, that we have known longer than *Riverview Academy*, Poughkeepsie; and we can truly say that we have never heard a report of it from any intelligent person which was not eminently favorable. Even the rivals of Prof. Bisbee bear testimony to his indefatigable assiduity, and unswerving fidelity, as an instructor. None who travel on the magnificent Hudson need be reminded of so conspicuous, large, and handsome a structure, as Riverview Academy, situated, as it is, on an eminence which would seem as if intended by nature as a most appropriate place for the development of mind and body.

The alphabetical form of our series has placed *The Selleck School*, Norwalk, Connecticut, at the end; but our readers know that no preparatory school in America is entitled to higher rank. Certain it is that we have not seen one anywhere, that makes a nearer approach to our ideal of perfection, as an institution designed to prepare boys for college or for business, according as their parents or themselves may elect. We can truly say, that we have seen the classic languages more intelligently, and more faithfully translated at Selleck's School, than at colleges like Dickinson and Rutger, not to mention colleges of less pretensions and lower grade; and we can bear testimony with equal confidence—a confidence confirmed by the voluntary assurances of grateful fathers and mothers, belonging to the most respectable classes of New York and Pennsylvania, as well as New England—that no school approximates more closely to a model home for its students.

On Teaching: Its Ends and Means.—By HENRY CATHERWOOD, LL.D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and Chairman of the Edinburgh School Board. 18mo., pp. 114. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

"QUIS doceat docentes?" is a question which has been vainly asked for many generations. Normal schools have attempted to answer the inquiry, so far as relates to procuring the requisite knowledge; but whence is the teacher to acquire the patience, the self-control, the knowledge of character, the system of discipline, and, above all, the faculty of imparting instruction, without which the mere possession of knowledge is apt to prove of little or no avail. As the introduction to the work before us justly remarks:

"While yet on the benches of the student's class-room, the candidates for office are constantly led to distinguish between knowledge and teaching power. They find a difference among instructors. It is not always the man who knows most who proves himself the best instructor. The beginner in teaching needs to carry with him the recollection of this difference. When he passes from the students' bench to the position of command on the floor of the class-room, he obtains fresh evidence every day that much more is wanted there than is implied in drawing his stores of information."—p. 2.

The incompetence of teachers, of which complaint is often and so justly made, arises as often from the absence of one or more of these very necessary qualifications, as from deficiency of knowledge and intellectual ability. It is the practical test which is applied and which fails. This want the little volume before us has undertaken to supply, and has so done with a modesty, candor, and intelligence which must commend itself to all readers.

The first quality which one who aspires to be a teacher should acquire must be the government of self; for, without self-government, it were vain to attempt to govern others. Accordingly, it is to the art of self-government that the first chapter of this work is devoted. For the acquisition of this quality no particular instructions can be given, for it is a habit which can be acquired only by personal conflict with the difficulties which beset the teacher's path; but the author judiciously points out what the chief of these are, and thus warns the inexperienced instructor for what particular trials and temptations he should be prepared. The chief difficulty he has to encounter will necessarily arise from the specialties of disposition in individual pupils, which require to be managed by other than the ordinary rules. In the author's words: "Your peculiar children are certain to discover their peculiarities at the most inconvenient times."—(p. 17.) For these it is especially necessary to be prepared, and, if possible, by some previous study of the character, qualified to meet it. But, even where these idiosyncrasies do not exist, in the usual routine of school management—the repression of common acts of disorder, and the control of an ordinary

assemblage of pupils—little can be achieved without the habit of self-control well established. "Nowhere can a man be more thoroughly tormented than in the school-room if he lack power of command."—(p. 23.)

Having acquired the control of self, the teacher is better qualified to learn how to control others. Accordingly, the second chapter is devoted to the subject of school discipline. It should, of course, be kept in mind, that the discipline of a school is to be enforced principally for the sake of the instruction—not the instruction subordinated to the discipline. Still, since instruction cannot be effectually conveyed without the maintenance of proper discipline, the latter becomes a highly important element in the system of education. Much harm is, however, done by the unwise habit of excessive speaking on every subject, on which reproof is required; or, in the author's words:

"Needless speaking is an offence against good government, as in the scholar it would be a breach of discipline. In every case, it should be generally felt that there was real occasion for speaking. Besides, it must be remembered that even appropriate counsel may be overdone by frequency of repetition. Warnings lose their force if they are incessantly reiterated, and this unfortunate result is more rapid if they are invariably shouted at the highest pitch of the voice. As has been well said, 'Nothing more impairs authority, than a too frequent or indiscreet use of it. If thunder itself were to be continual, it would excite no more terror than the noise of a mill.' Incessant fault-finding involves a rapid evaporation of moral influence."—p. 31.

All these considerations are, however, but preliminary to the great work of instruction. For this, the first requisite with pupils is to secure their attention. No amount of *memoriter* exercise will be of much avail, until this is insured. Attention in most instances awakens comprehension; but attention in the young can seldom be secured, without exciting their interest. It becomes, therefore, the duty of a teacher to propound his instructions in such a manner as to interest his hearers in what he is saying. This is easily accomplished by putting statements in such a manner that the pupil shall be induced to ask questions, which should always be encouraged, and, as far as possible, satisfactorily answered.

Another important medium through which knowledge is imparted is the eye. Here the black-board comes into play as a useful auxiliary, both in concentrating the attention of the listener and in quickening his comprehension. At the same time we are reminded that the youthful memory requires to be stored with much that is beyond its present capacity of understanding. The memory of children is usually much stronger than their logical perception. Accordingly, much has to be acquired before the faculty of acquiring and retaining is weakened by time, the comprehension of which has to be reserved for future years. This, however, constitutes the inevitable exception. Whatever the

young learner is at present capable of comprehending should, at once, be fully elucidated; whenever his interest is sufficiently awakened to demand explanation, such explanation should be vouchsafed. By this process the strongest and most lasting impressions are made.

In connection with instruction comes the formation of the pupil's character. This, though, of course, not the main object of the teacher, is one which should never be overlooked. In the concluding chapter the requisites of moral training are clearly and succinctly set forth. The first is, "intelligent sympathy with the children in the difficulties they experience while attempting to control their conduct."—(p. 74.) For this study of character is necessary as well as careful discrimination. Here comes in an important suggestion, which every teacher should keep in mind:

"He cannot form the character, but can only aid the pupil in efforts to form his own character."—p. 77.

To fulfil this task the teacher must individualize. He must adapt himself to the peculiarities of his pupils. His great object must be, in the words of Mr. Catherwood, "helping the scholar to help himself in what must be his own work."—(p. 81.) Above all, he must secure for himself the respect and affection of his pupils. Without these, as the author justly remarks, he is powerless. The importance of a work like this can be overestimated only when it becomes possible to overestimate the influence of the teacher in moulding the character of the rising generation. How great must be that influence we may infer from a fact mentioned at the close of the volume:

"During the Franco-German war the oft-repeated remark was, that the schoolmaster had gained the German victories. The fact was clearly established, Germany had the best intelligence of the country in the ranks."—p. 112.

Such is the influence of the teacher, and for the fitting exercise of such functions no amount of preparation can be excessive. Hence we can realize the value of suggestions such as are contained in this little volume; suggestions designed to teach him who aspires to teach others.

BELLES LETTRES.

Le Brigadier Frédéric. Histoire d'un Français chassé par les Allemands. Par ERCKMANN CHATRIAN. 16mo, pp. 265. Paris: J. Hetzel et Cie. 1875.

NOTWITHSTANDING the general feeling that France was entitled to little sympathy in her late disastrous war with Germany, it is impossible to read these pages without a strong feeling of commiseration for the unhappy Alsatians, who were rudely driven from their homes, and of corresponding indignation against the Germans, who used their victory

so remorselessly. We have here the simple story of a brigadier forester, who, having occupied for many years the position which had been held before him by his wife's ancestors for four generations, and to which he was to be succeeded by the betrothed husband of his daughter, is suddenly torn from all that he loves, and driven first from his home and finally from his country. He is introduced to the reader as leading a life of unusual tranquility and happiness, clouded only by the loss of his wife, for which he has found consolation in the devotion of his daughter, Marie Rose. The first warning comes in the shape of numerous German visitors, apparently *commis-voyageurs*, who make long sojourns in the neighborhood, familiarize themselves with all its details, and are, in fact, spies sent to learn all about the country with a view to the war which is anticipated. Then follows the war; the surrender at Sédan; and soon after, troops of immigrants are seen passing through the territory, evidently brought thither to settle in Alsace and possess the conquered French territory. Then comes a regular occupation of the place by German officials. The foresters are all required to take the oath of allegiance to King William; and on their refusal are driven from their posts. Frédéric removes with his daughter and her aged grandmother into a poor inn in a neighboring village, where he hopes to be safe, if not happy. He departs, sadly remarking:

"Heureux ceux qui ne prévoient pas le lendemain, et que l'Eternel gouverne seul sans lois, sans empéreurs et sans ministres. L'écureuil, le lièvre, le rénard, tous les animaux des bois et de la plaine reçoivent leur fourrure nouvelle à l'entrée de l'hiver; les oiseaux du ciel reçoivent un plus fin duvet; ceux qui ne pouvaient pas vivre dans le neige, faute d'insectes pour les nourrir, ont reçu de grandes ailes, qui leur permettent d'aller chercher un plus beau soleil. L'homme seul ne reçoit rien. Ni son travail, ni sa prevoyance, ni son courage ne peuvent le preserver du malheur."—p. 121.

As the disasters to the French arms augment, Jean Merlin, the betrothed of Marie Rose is impelled to join his country's defenders. When this is discovered, fresh troubles accumulate upon poor Frédéric. First, his cattle are seized by a French renegade who is in favor with the German officials; then, for denouncing the robber, he is commanded to leave Alsace. He is obliged to depart alone, for the grandmother is unable to travel, and Marie Rose must remain and nurse her. When, at last, the death of her grandmother enables the young girl to join her father, her own health is breaking down in consequence of a ruptured blood-vessel occasioned by a blow administered by one of the German soldiery. Her end is hastened by the news of her lover's death in battle; and Frédéric, alone and childless, is sent by his friends to Paris, where he arrives in time to witness the horrors of the commune—Frenchmen destroying one another, while the Germans look on and rejoice.

Here he passes the remainder of his days, rendering what assistance he can to the Alsatian exiles whom he meets, and thanking Heaven that his

life is still enabled to be not altogether useless. The story, though intensely sad, is simple and touching, and can not be read without emotion. The book will excite all the more sympathy from the tone of calm dignity in which it is written; not attempting to salve the national vanity, but honestly placing the blame of the misfortunes of France where they are due—on the bad government of Napoleon III. In the concluding sentences, the author urges the French henceforth to choose for their rulers, honest, disinterested, and patriotic men. Under such, he holds forth to France the hope of regaining her lost frontiers; otherwise he warns her that

"Ce qui est arrivé aux Alsaciens et aux Lorrainiens, leur arrivera province par province; il s'en repentiront mais trop tard."—p. 264.

To Germany he addresses a few words of stern and solemn warning, reminding the Germans that it is a dangerous position to be a source of terror to the world. He concludes:

"Ils sont grisés par leurs victoires, et ne se reveilleront que lorsque l'Europe, fatigué de leur ambition et de leur insolence, se lévera pour les remettre à la raison; alors ils seront bien forcés de reconnaitre que *si la Force prime quelquefois*, le Droit el la Justice sont éternelles."—p. 265.

OUR RAILROADS.

Reports of Railway Companies, with various other Documents illustrative of the Condition and Management of Different Lines.

THOSE not in the habit of travelling beyond a limited distance from our large cities, have but little idea of the condition or prospects of our railroads. We confess we had entertained very erroneous views on the subject ourselves, until we were afforded an opportunity recently by travelling much farther into the country than usual, of judging from personal observation of the amount of progress actually made. It was not until we went some two hundred miles from New York or Philadelphia, that we began to comprehend how it is that so many railway companies become bankrupt, or are forced to allow their mortgages to be foreclosed. And the further we proceed the more obvious does the reason become, until finally we are satisfied that not more than two or three roads are doing a remunerative business.

In illustration of this, we may remark that we have travelled hundreds of miles by day, as well as by night, with not more than two or three persons in the same car with us; in not a few instances we had a whole Pulman car to ourselves. We had experiences of this kind between Pittsburgh and St. Louis, and between St. Louis and Chicago; and there were several cars on each train that had no better report to make. Had it been desirable we should have found it difficult, if not impossible, to account for the strange anomaly that, after adding

hundreds of miles to our distance from New York or Philadelphia, we find huge placards posted up in all directions, showing that the amount of fare demanded at this point is not a penny more than we had found it the day before, hundreds of miles nearer home. This may well seem incredible. Who, then, will believe that, at least in one instance, we found the fare to New York in an inverse ratio to the distance? That is, instead of finding the fare back increased, on going a hundred and fifty miles, we find it diminished three dollars! Thus, for example, this curious paradox was presented to us at Terre Haute, Ind. Our first theory in attempting its solution is, that there are not a few people in that honest town whom the railroad company that offered to sell its tickets so cheap would like to transport as far off as possible. But we presume we need not say now that this was not the cause. On reflection, we recalled the fact, that several years ago, while the boat-fare to New York from Albany was only 25 cents, it was 50 cents from Hudson, 75 cents from Poughkeepsie, etc.,—that is, it was in an inverse ratio to the distance as far as Yonkers, where, all of a sudden, the fare to New York became just the same as that from Albany! To this it is almost needless to add that the railroad anomalies we have thus briefly alluded to, are the natural results of undue competition.

While revolving these various topics in our mind, on reaching the hotel,* wondering how long certain small companies could continue to exist under such circumstances, we happened to take up a copy of the Philadelphia North American and Gazette, dated May 6, 1875, in which we find an elaborate and thoughtful article, on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Finding that its general views are in remarkable accordance with the experience we have had for some days, we cut it out and transfer it to our portfolio, in order that we may be able to quote from it at a future time. Having had a sufficient opportunity in our perigrinations to realize the vast magnitude attained by this road, we read the following with no slight interest:

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*Alluding to the hotels reminds us that there was scarcely one we had occasion to stop at during our tour, whose bill of fare did not announce something "à la Windsor," or "Windsor style." One had "calf's head, Windsor style;" another, "fricandeau of veal, à la Windsor;" another, "terrine de foie gras, Windsor fashion," etc., etc. In the first and second instance we ordered the dish thus labelled, but in each case the imitation proved so sad a counterfeit that it reminded us of the waters of Tantalus. The third time we did not care to examine, having concluded that it was safer to wait for the original article.

To this we beg leave to add one remark, for the benefit of such travellers as are unfortunate enough to have infirm teeth. We could not help thinking that, although an extensive display of white marble is a very good thing in its way, travellers would admire it much more than they do if they could regard it as some guarantee that the mutton, the beef, and the fowl are not beyond a certain age.

"The great interest attached to the change in the dividend of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company affords a fresh proof of the importance attained by that corporation. It could scarcely be otherwise with a company whose capital is four hundred millions of dollars, and whose control extends over six thousand miles of roadway. A machine so complicated no doubt demands for its management abilities of a high order, but experience has demonstrated very clearly that the safest of all rules for the conduct of its affairs are those of plain, simple, old-fashioned common sense. The first of these is not to go any further than the way can be seen clearly, and this, we must admit, has not always been attended to, though it seems to be fully recognized by the new management. The second rule is to assume no burdens that are not necessary or unavoidable, and to avoid all possible embarrassments. In other words, *the Company must carry as little financial dead weight as possible, and must not be converted into a general hospital for the care of debilitated railroads.*"

We knew from an experience, by no means agreeable, that the "debilitated railroads" were no myths, but provoking realities, which sometimes reminded us of the stage-coaches of olden times. But we read on thus:

"Most of the leased lines would have done better in a financial way had not the Company been obliged to make very heavy expenditures for new rolling stock, *bridges, sidings, stations, additional trucks*, etc., which have added greatly to the value of the investment. *The most serious load is that of the southern lines, which are a source of loss and constant outlay, and will continue to be so until the width of the lines shall be decreased and the dead weight of the trains thus reduced, as the southern business is nowhere sufficient to warrant the wide gauge of the railways.*"

There is not a remark here to which we could deny our assent. We had seen several of the new bridges, stations, etc., along the whole extent of the "Pan Handle Route," and were struck with the immense expenditure they must have involved. Indeed, we could not help thinking that it would require an enormous revenue for years to come to requite the company for so vast an outlay. But the North American, which is evidently well informed on the subject, thinks differently, as may be seen from the following additional extract:

"The greatness of the capital, resources, and annual revenues of the Company is such that it is believed the time has arrived when it shall cease to be a borrower, and become the great leading capitalist. This we assume to be the policy to which the Board has turned its attention. It was the policy recommended in the report of the investigating committee, and approved by the Board and the public, and to carry it into effect it is required that the Company shall *avoid all new incumbrances*, and get rid as soon as possible of all outstanding and unsettled embarrassments. The constant increase of the stock and bonded capital of the Company piles upon the latter increased annual burdens for interest and dividends, and diminishes the cash means available for extensions and improvements."

In our recent tour we have travelled more or less on each of the three principal rival lines to the West; namely, the Pennsylvania Central, the Erie, and the New York Central. So far as we could judge from many inquiries at different points, and from our own personal

observation, the popularity of the three lines with the travelling public corresponds with the order in which we mention their names; moreover, we think the gradation is perfectly correct and just.

It is certain that "the Pan Handle Route," as at present managed by the Pennsylvania Company, combines more advantages than either of the others, but equally certain that, notwithstanding the financial difficulties of the Erie, that company, as it has been managed during the past two years, by the gentleman who is now its receiver, is entitled to rank next to the Pennsylvania.

It is beyond question that the New York Central is a great and wealthy company; but, let the cause be what it may, there is very little love for it in any part of the country. Probably it would be more correct to say that there is little love or esteem for its managers, especially for Mr. Vanderbilt, senior, who is much oftener called "old Shylock," than "old Commodore." It does not fall within the scope of this brief article to inquire whether Mr. Vanderbilt has deserved the odium, not to say the execration, of which he seems to be the object even among his own employés; and, even were it otherwise, we fear we should have to decline the task, lest our candor might constrain us to agree to the general verdict in regard to our doughty fellow citizen.

In the same spirit of frankness and justice—wishing to speak of all as we found them, without prejudice or partiality—we cheerfully bear testimony to the fact that, of all the interior western roads on which we have travelled, that which seemed to us the best managed, on which the passengers are best treated, and which withal exhibits the most picturesque panorama from its Pulman car windows, is the St. Louis, Vandalia, Terre Haute, and Indianapolis road, which has a lively, pleasant branch extending from the last-mentioned city to Cincinnati.

We have only space to add that the Illinois Central, from St. Louis to Chicago, is in nearly every respect the reverse of all this. There is nothing picturesque there, nothing lively, and but little pleasure in any way. Those who travel on this road will see prairie enough—scarcely any thing but prairie—that is, a dead level almost from one end of the line to the other, with seldom as much as a tree or a shrub to relieve the tiresome monotony.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Report of the Hygiene of the United States Army, with descriptions of Military Posts. By JOHN S. BILLINGS, Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., 4to, pp. 564. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1875.

We are indebted to the courtesy of the Surgeon General for a copy of this work. It is gratifying to learn that the attention of the govern-

ment has been directed to the accommodation of our troops in the different posts where they are stationed. Scattered as they are over an immense tract of country, in many instances established almost beyond the limits of civilization, it is inevitable that abuses should grow up which all the precautions of the proper officials are unable to avoid. Hence, the necessity of such reports as this—reports from the medical officers in every department, by the inspection of which the defect, particularly in the matter of hygiene, which may exist at the various stations, may be discovered, and, it is to be hoped, remedied.

The first part of the report is directed to the general provision for our soldiers, as to habitations, food, clothing, and hospitals. This part of the report is generally satisfactory. The proposed plan of barrack is good in the main, though the report strongly censures the want of proper provision for ventilation and bath-rooms. It very justly remarks:

"A dirty man will, in most cases, be a discontented, disagreeable, and dissolute man; for the condition of his skin has much more to do with a man's morals than is generally supposed."—p. 10.

In the article of food, the report recommends a larger ration, better mess furniture, and permanent cooks, for whom a manual of instruction should be issued. The clothing of the army appears to be generally satisfactory, although some improvements are suggested. The report recommends barrack hospitals, or temporary wooden structures, and, in warm climates, walls lined with canvas instead of plaster, and whitewashed directly on the canvas.

By far the greater part of the volume is, however, taken up with reports from the different military stations; and it is painful to learn to what hardships the defenders of our soil are subjected, even in time of peace. Nor are those unsuitable accommodations found only at frontier stations. Some of our oldest and best known forts appear to be equally open to censure. In Fort Hamilton, in our own harbor, for instance.

"The whole country is dotted over with ponds from the surface-drainage. Some of these ponds are clear, with a gravelly or clayey bottom, and grassy borders; others are surrounded with trees, and filled up with bushes and rank grasses, and covered in summer with a green slime. It has been calculated that within a radius of a mile about Fort Hamilton there are at least sixty of these ponds."—p 31.

Is it extraordinary that Fort Hamilton should be a notoriously unhealthy station?

At Fort Adams, Newport, officers and men sleep in casemates which are damp and ill-ventilated. At Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, the walls are continually wet, and the baseboards so shrunk away from the floor that there is a perpetual and violent draught. At Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there is no drainage nor sewerage, and the rain-water is allowed to collect on the Parade Ground. At Fort Gratiot, Port Huron, Michigan, the married soldiers' quarters

"consist of rotten, leaky huts, and are discreditable to the service. The officers' quarters are all old buildings, and, in severe weather, leaky and continually damp."—p. 28.

The southern posts are, as might be expected, in a yet worse condition. They have scarcely any improved system of latrines, sewerage, or means of ventilation ; and, in consequence,

"maintain the old-fashioned cess-pits, and have advanced little beyond the Jewish civilization."—p. 107.

The frontier stations are, of course, the worst of all. At Camp Apache, Arizona, the quarters are unfit to live in—lined with old canvas, exposed to the extremes of heat and cold, and insufficient to keep out the rain. At Camp McDowell, in the same territory, they are

"miserable, tumble-down hovels that were constructed when the post was first established, and are unfit to live in."—p. 243.

The reports would constitute a severe bill of indictment against the War Department, were there not reason to hope that the very investigations which have called them forth indicate a determination to remedy the defects complained of. The task will be, undoubtedly, one of great magnitude; but we trust that, for the credit of our country, it may be successfully accomplished.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism : Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in February and March, 1874. By R. Bosworth Smith. 12mo, pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

We doubt whether many readers will be prepared to adopt the exalted estimate of Mohammed's life and character set forth in these lectures; and fewer still will, in all probability, be disposed to accept the dictum that Mohammedanism is a near approach to Christianity, or that

"The immemorial quarrel between Mohammedanism and Christianity is, after all, a quarrel between near relations ; and, like most immemorial quarrels, is based chiefly on mutual misunderstandings."—p. 208.

Nevertheless, they will, undoubtedly, go far toward correcting the common belief that Mohammed was a mere vulgar impostor, and that the religion which he founded owed its success to a disgraceful pandering to human vices, or the spirit of plunder and extermination.

It is impossible to read the analysis of Mohammed's career, in this volume, without becoming impressed with the fact that, in the mission which he undertook, there was no wilful imposture, but a firm conviction of the truth of the doctrines which he maintained—one, a truth the most sublime, and which may well have appeared to him to have

been altogether lost sight of—that there is but one God. Arabia was, at this period, sunk in the grossest polytheism.

"The worship of sticks and stones, or of the grim array of three hundred and sixty idols in the Kaaba, among which the Ærolite—once believed to have been of dazzling whiteness, but long since blackened by the kisses of sinful men—was at once the most ancient and the most sacred."—p. 88.

Even Christianity, complicated as it had become in the oriental churches with the worship of saints and angels, might have seemed to him hardly to embody this truth in its full extent. In Judaism he found the doctrine distinctly recognized; but Judaism was a faith essentially exclusive and intolerant. Far from seeking to propagate their belief, the Jews claimed it as the exclusive privilege of the children of the chosen race.

"The Jew surrendered his birthright if he imparted his faith to other peoples. The Arab surrendered his, if he did not spread his faith wherever and however he could."—p. 138.

The other conviction with which Mohammed went forth to convert the world was, that he was the prophet chosen of God to communicate His will to the people. There can be little doubt that this conviction was as genuine as the other. This is manifold from the long period of preparation, during which he endured contempt and reproach, making few proselytes, relinquishing a position of comparative distinction—for his family, it appears, were hereditary guardians of the Sacred Stone—finally compelled to fly for his life while the Koreishites were thirsting for his blood. As the author justly remarks:

"There is no single trait in his character up to the time of the Hegira which calumny itself could couple with imposture. On the contrary, there is every thing to prove the real enthusiast arriving slowly and painfully at what he believed to be the truth."—p. 106.

As far as the character of Mohammed is concerned, Mr. Smith has undoubtedly made a very good case; and we think that few will rise from the perusal of this volume without a stronger respect for the character of the Prophet, and a higher estimate of his earnestness and sincerity, than would at first have been supposed possible. But it will be difficult to accept the author's estimate of Mohammedanism itself, without many and material reservations. That it played an important part in the history of the East, that it materially elevated the standard of civilization, and substituted for a degrading polytheism a religion far superior both in doctrinal and practical teachings—all these facts may be conceded; but to claim for Mohammedanism a place by the side of Christianity, to represent a religion of partial truths, of sensual doctrines—an element which the author endeavors, but without much success, to explain away—and whose great secret of success lies in the fact of its peculiar adaptability to the imperfect civilization of the East—as

akin to and entitled to the sympathies of the adherents of a faith held by all the enlightened and advanced nations of the world, is a proceeding which most readers will find it difficult to approve. Yet it is not easy to put any other construction on such passages as the following:

"The two great religions which started from kindred soils—the one from Mecca, the other from Jerusalem—might work on in their respective spheres; * * * each rejoicing in the success of the other, each supplying the other's wants in a generous rivalry for the common good of humanity."—p. 259.

While regretting that the author should have allowed his advocacy—or, perhaps, we should rather say, his protest against injustice—to carry him to such an extent, we think that the work will itself be useful in correcting many erroneous ideas both as to the Mohammedan doctrine and its founder, and will convey a clearer conception of the actual character of both than is at present generally entertained.

OBITUARIES.

JOHN HARPER.

It seems late, now, to add our expressions of regret to those elicited throughout the United States, among all friends of literature, science, and the arts, by the death of John Harper, the senior member of the eminent publishing house of Harper & Brothers, which occurred at his residence in this city, on the 23d of April last, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. It is, however, the earliest moment an opportunity is afforded us—our journal being a quarterly—of performing that sad duty.

Mr. Harper had lived to an age accorded to very few—to less than one per cent. even of the most vigorous portion of the human race; but is it not in proportion as men have lived long, and done much good throughout life, that they have the strongest claim on our grief at their demise? But those who have themselves reached the evening of life, and cannot, under the most favorable circumstances, expect to survive many years, have an additional reason to feel a pang, even in those cases in which death may be regarded as only the natural result of longevity.

It is so with the writer of these lines. We have seen those who, for the last quarter of a century, have exercised most influence on American thought, and been most instrumental in the diffus on of knowledge, pass away, one by one, until not more than two or three remain. Instance the New York editors alone; in the order in which they fell at their work, they were N. P. Willis, George P. Morris, Henry J. Raymond, James Gordon Bennett, Horace Greeley. We have never had

the honor of being personally acquainted with Mr. John Harper, as it was our privilege to be for many years with each of those distinguished editors. But as we were indebted to each of the editors for many kindnesses, and for much generous encouragement in our efforts to establish this journal—especially in our earlier struggles to secure its existence—so were we indebted to the great publishing house of which Mr. John Harper was the honored head. Accordingly, as when one editor after another passed away, we laid whatever little tribute we could on his grave, so we turn now, in the same reverent spirit, to the publisher's grave, and, for the benefit of the youth passing by, who has profited by what James Harper has done for the cause of liberal education in America, place on it the following line:

Exemplo hominis qui hic jacet, disce, et felix in vita sis.

To this brief but earnest memento we add an extract or two from a biographical sketch which we find in one of the daily papers,—prefacing them by only one observation. Just as all our friends among the old New York editors, the founders of so many great journals, are gone, so are all our friends among the old publishers, who were the founders of great houses. With but too much appropriateness, then, we may adopt the words of Argive Helen in her lamentation over the dead body of her Trojan friend:

"Thy gentle speech, thy gentleness of soul,
Would, by thine own, their harsher minds control;
Hence, with a heart by torturing misery rent,
Thee and my hapless self I thus lament."

After some introductory remarks the Tribune gives the following particulars:

"John Harper was born in Newtown, Long Island, in 1797, and was the second of the four brothers, James, John, Joseph Wesley, and Fletcher. The father, Joseph Harper, was a farmer in easy circumstances on Long Island, and it was here that the early life of the brothers was spent. At the age of 14, with his brotner James, then 16 years of age, John was apprenticed in one of the New York printing offices. Here their acquired habits of thrift and economy served them in good stead, and, sober, unassuming, and extremely diligent, they soon gained an accurate knowledge of all departments of the business. In 1817, then 20 years of age, John and his brother James entered into partnership and opened a small printing establishment in Dover street. Though receiving some pecuniary assistance from their father, the business necessarily was limited at first. The printing of books was then in its infancy in this country, and the venture of these young men was then looked upon as most desperate. By great energy and industry, performing themselves most of the composition and press-work, the firm prospered, and in a very few years they found their quarters too limited, and removed to another building, on Fulton street, near Broadway. The firm of J. & J. Harper was then well known as a publishing house, and their publications found a ready sale. When the two brothers began, in 1817, it was thought to be a matter worth boasting about, that in August they delivered 2,000 copies of "Seneca's Morals," a translation, and four months afterward 2,500 copies of Mair's "Introduction to Latin

Syntax," both in admirable style. Their first imprint appeared upon a work in 1818, the book being 500 copies of Locke's celebrated work upon the Human Understanding. They felt their way cautiously, and gradually approached the business of publishing on their own account. In 1823, John Wesley Harper, a younger brother, having learned the trade thoroughly, was given an interest in the house, and the firm, in 1825, removed to Pearl street, near Franklin Square, and shortly afterward to Nos. 81 and 82 Cliff street, where the business was still further enlarged. In 1826, Fletcher, the youngest brother, was admitted to the partnership, and from this dated the origin of the world-renowned firm of Harper & Brothers.

"Business relations were formed with prominent authors, and the firm published works on its own account. In 1830 they began to stereotype their works, and the plates, which have been carefully preserved in vaults, are extremely valuable. All the new inventions of any practical use were adopted, and their enterprise gave a marked impetus to the publishing trade all over the country. They scattered European works far and wide, at an exceedingly low figure, by republishing them in this country. Each brother was at the head of some one department, personally superintending all work. John Harper was the recognized financial manager of the business, and to his great mercantile capacity was due the fact that they have passed successfully through the financial storms in which so many of the trade were wrecked. Their efforts were not confined to reprints, but extended to copyright works, and this, doubtless, was one cause of their wonderful success. Work increased so fast that they rapidly acquired building after building, and it was then almost impossible to make room for the accumulating requirements of their trade."

Passing over the details in the Tribune's sketch which relate to the establishment and remarkable success of the Harpers' periodicals, as being already sufficiently known to our readers, we take pleasure in transcribing the following additional passage:

"The secret of the great success of the Harper Brothers was due to their thorough unity. It is said that, if the question was ever asked as to who was the head of the house, who was *the* Harper, and who were the Brothers, the only accurate answer was, 'Either one is Harper, and all the rest are brothers.' In March, 1869, James Harper, the eldest brother, and Mayor of New York in 1844, was thrown from his carriage while driving in Central Park, from the effects of which he died within two days. Joseph Wesley Harper, who had charge of the department of correspondence, was so deeply grieved by the death of his brother that he visited the office only a few times afterward, and died on February 14, 1870. The loss of his brothers made it an equally painful duty for John Harper to visit the office, and so the business of the firm has gradually come into the hands of the next generation, the five sons of the original members of the firm. John Harper was very firm and decided but strictly just in his dealings, and a model of politeness to all with whom he came in contact. The wealthiest citizen and the humblest beggar-girl that ever entered his counting-room were received with the same unvarying politeness and consideration. In business he was strict but kind, came quickly to the point, and required others to do so, and was a man of few words. He transacted business rapidly, and was much absorbed in his duties while he remained in the counting-room, which he left early for an afternoon dinner, after which came the real day for him in his drive on the road. So modest and unpretending was his conversation that few who came in contact with him suspected the engineering skill which he possessed, and which he exhibited when the question arose as to the construction of the new buildings rendered necessary

by the disastrous fire. He was a man of extraordinary courage, and always looked at the brightest side of affairs. No calamity of his house and no prostration of business ever shook him for an instant. On the very evening of the great fire which consumed the whole of the Harper establishment, John Harper began to plan those massive fire-proof buildings which now tower above Franklin square, and under his determined push gangs of men were employed in clearing away the ruins, even while the bricks were still too hot to be comfortably handled. The plans for the new establishment were entirely his own. He calculated the space necessary for carrying on the multifarious details of a publisher's business; he knew to an inch the accommodations required for each press or other machine, and he knew where this or that ought to be placed. He designed the arrangements, and left them to be carried out to the letter by the most competent engineers and builders. The result justified his own and his partners' confidence in his judgment."

We had the pain to witness the accident which caused the death of Mr. James Harper, referred to above, without having it in our power to render any assistance. The sad occurrence did not take place in the Park at all, but in Fifth Avenue, near Fifty-third street. Mr. Harper was quietly and carefully driving his beautiful and spirited black team, in his light wagon, with a lady beside him, when another vehicle, driven in a different way, came in collision with his, causing his horses to take fright, so that one of the wheels got up on a large pile of stones, and in an instant the wagon was upset, and its occupants thrown violently against the curb-stone. We were so near that the horse on which we rode took fright at the same time, and to such an extent, that the utmost in our power was to prevent him from destroying himself and us. Thus it was that we had the misfortune to witness the melancholy event without being able to render the slightest aid by deed or word.

It was but natural that the great success of the Messrs. Harper should excite the jealousy, as well as the envy, of rival publishers. But we know none who would not admit, in their calmer moments, that, after all, it was a success which was well deserved. It was no wonder to us, therefore, to observe that, when Mr. John Harper died, our publishers vied with each other in doing honor to his memory. As a sufficient illustration of this, we subjoin the following, from the New York Herald, of April 25; and with this we take reverent leave of the *manes* of the founder of one of the greatest publishing houses in the world.

"A meeting of the members of the book-publishing trade was held yesterday at the Leavitt Salesrooms, in Clinton place, for the purpose of taking action on the death of the late John Harper. Among the firms represented were Appleton's, Barnes & Co., Carleton's, Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, Holt & Co., Hurd & Houghton, Scribner & Co., etc. The meeting was called to order by Mr. A. S. Barnes, who alluded to Mr. Harper's career, and treated of the lessons taught by his life to young men.

"On motion, Messrs. Seymour, Randolph, and Hurd were appointed a Committee on Resolutions, who reported the following:

"*Resolved*, That we have received the announcement of the death of John Harper with the most profound sorrow.

"*Resolved*, That in him our trade mourns its oldest as well as one of its most respected and honored members, and the business community in general a representative man, whose long and distinguished career has identified his name with the history of our city, and done much to establish and maintain its reputation as the literary centre of our country. The record of diligence, industry, steadfast perseverance, thrift, and economy, which marked his earlier years, remains for the imitation of those who are entering upon business life. The determination with which he met and triumphed over almost overwhelming disaster stands as an encouragement to any one who may be struggling with adversity. His unswerving love of country has our praise. We recognize the skill and foresight which he displayed in the prosecution of the large business, in the control of which he took such a prominent part for so long a series of years. We should emulate his untiring energy, and imitate the strict honor which marked his transactions, while his unfailing kindness of heart has our grateful remembrance.

"*Resolved*, That we close our respective places of business during the hours of the funeral, and that we attend the services in a body.

"*Resolved*, That we extend to the business associates, and to the family of the deceased, our sincere sympathy in their bereavement, and that the secretary be instructed to send them a copy of these resolutions."

JOHN EGAN.

More than a month has now passed since the death of John Egan, who died at his residence in Sixty-fourth street, in this city, on the 19th of May last, after a brief illness, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Hitherto none but those distinguished in literature, science, or the arts—authors, editors, or publishers—have had their death recorded in these pages; but there are good reasons why we should make an exception in the present instance. There is one reason which would be quite sufficient in our estimation, namely, that there never lived an individual, in any rank of life, who was more emphatically an honest man than Mr. John Egan.

Although the subject of our present sketch belonged to no learned profession, he was a man of high culture and extensive knowledge—in every respect a gentleman; and our readers know that this is a title which we do not apply indiscriminately, even to men of blameless character.

Mr. John Egan was a native of Ireland. With all its misfortunes we have always been proud to claim that island ourselves, for which nature has done so much, as the place of our birth. At the same time, none will accuse us of obtruding our fellow-countrymen on the attention of our readers, when they have no better claim than others to consideration. If we can be said to have ever made any national, or ethnological distinction in our discussions—if we have evinced any partiality to Tyrian or Trojan, as such—it has invariably been in favor of our American fellow-citizens, and of our adopted country. Let none think, then, that in placing on the grave of John Egan the only tribute in our

power, we are actuated by any such paltry sentiment as that of clanship.

Having left his native country at an early age, the subject of our sketch was nearly half a century in this country; and his first care, on being qualified according to the naturalization laws of that period, was to become a citizen of the United States. We may pause here to remark, that John Egan did not belong to the class who were forced by poverty to emigrate. Those of his family not "gentlemen farmers" were engaged in mercantile pursuits. That he had no need to come to America merely to seek a livelihood, might be inferred, in the absence of more direct evidence, from the fact that at this day his brother, Mr. William Egan, now in his eighty-third year, is a magistrate for the county of Mayo, also a banker, and universally esteemed by rich and poor.

In religion John Egan was a Catholic; in politics he was a Democrat. No one was more devoted than he to his church; nor had any one a stronger faith in those principles of government which the democratic party in this country claim as peculiarly their own. But he had far too much sense and understanding to be intolerant either in religion or politics; indeed, no one could have been more liberal-minded or conciliatory in those respects, or in any other. A fact or two will illustrate this, and give an idea at the same time of the esteem in which he was held by all intelligent Americans who had opportunities of forming his acquaintance. That he was a firm believer in Catholicism, as his ancestors had been for untold generations, did not prevent him from choosing as a partner for life an American Presbyterian lady—a daughter of one of the oldest and best families of Rochester, N. Y. Moreover, there was no event in his life upon which he so heartily or so often congratulated himself. It was his proudest boast that his American wife was not the less amiable, the less affectionate, or the less devoted to him—the less, in a word, the true solace of his life—for having been brought up in the faith of Calvin, Knox, and Melancthon.

Nor did he remain the less faithful to the Catholic church on account of the happiness thus brought him by his "heretic" wife, and which ended only with his life. It had no more regular communicant than he; and his purse was always open to its appeals. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, Mr. John Egan had made a fortune in this city, as a merchant, by his honest and honorable industry and good business talents; and, being entirely free from avarice, seeing that he had secured abundance for himself and his family, he retired at that time into private life, confining his business attention thereafter to the property he had accumulated—to letting his houses, receiving his rents, etc. Not only did he contribute freely to the church, as we have said, but he gratuitously acted for a long series of years as the chief accountant of that which he was in the habit of attending; often depriving himself of hours of neces-

ary rest at night, in order that his pastor should not be disappointed hen he wished to present his monthly or quarterly statement to his rustees.

We regret that we feel constrained, by a sense of duty, to remark ere that the individual clergymen whom he had long been in the abit of serving thus, showed no appreciation of his generosity and indness when death came upon him, too literally, "like a thief in the ight." Whether it was that it would be inexpedient to speak openly the virtues, either religious or moral, of one who had married a eretic, however acceptable were his money and his labor as long as he ved to bestow them; or whether we are to seek the cause in the great ifficulty there was just then in finding suitable black horses and a itable carriage fit for His Eminence, the new Cardinal, in order that might be sufficiently like the particular apostle, whose successor in randeur and pomp he claims to be—certain it is, that neither the astor of John Egan, nor the pastor's curate, nor any other pastor or irate, had one word to say over his remains after the usual mass for ie dead was celebrated. Convinced as we are from experience iat, had John Egan been a politician, or had he belonged to some uasi-pious, wide-mouthed society of mutual admiration, there would ave been pious speeching enough over his coffin, we cannot help inking that, whatever was the motive of the marked neglect with hich he was treated at his death, there are no intelligent men, whether atholic or Protestant, that are familiar with the circumstances, who ill not admit that those responsible for that neglect have—to use the ildest language—brought discredit on themselves, if not on their hurch, by showing that they have no more appreciation of the value of well-spent life, as an example to the living, than they have of past avors of which there can be no future repetitions.

There were various reasons, as has been seen, why John Egan might iave calculated on considerable success as a politician. Accordingly, he Democrats urged him, time after time, to become a candidate for an important office, informing him that a nomination awaited him whenever he was ready to accept it. But no. His taste did not lie in that direction. No one had a more earnest solicitude than he for the welfare of his adopted country; but he could not associate with the class of men that control the politics of New York. He, although a Democrat, was one of those Irishmen whom it grieved to hear "the Irish vote" mentioned, because to him, as to others like him, it was suggestive more of fraud and degradation than of a legitimate franchise, or of a representative government worthy of the name. Accordingly, when we assailed the Tammany Ring, in this journal, and when every possible effort was made to crush us for doing so, he was one of the faithful, fearless few who promptly came to our aid, offered to place his purse at

our disposal, should we need it, and never faltered in thus clinging to us through evil report and good report, until we saw our enemies, one after the other, forced into exile or imprisoned. In short, John Egan proved to us just such a friend at this crisis as Charles O'Conor, the Nestor of the New York bar, on whose escutcheon there never has been a stain, and whose memorable, prophetic words to us, before any definite proof was found against any member of the Ring, was: "*Have no fear of those scoundrels; ere three months are passed the whole gang will be powerless to hurt a hair in your head.*" And so the event proved.

At the beginning of this notice we have assigned some reasons for making an exception, in these pages, in order to honor the memory of John Egan; but that which we have just given is of such a nature, in all its bearings, that, had we had nothing whatever to do with the case ourselves—had one we had never seen been placed in similar circumstances, and experienced the same manliness, friendship, and generosity—we should have felt that we could not have devoted the same amount of space to the memory of a nobler man, of a better citizen, or of a more faithful friend, than JOHN EGAN. So deeply are we impressed with this fact, that we should, perhaps, be ashamed of our emotion in taking leave, thus hurriedly, of our departed friend, but

> "That very law which moulds a tear,
> And bids it trickle from its source,
> That law preserves the earth a sphere,
> And guides the planets in their course."

APPENDIX—INSURANCE: GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

Insurance Trials, Judgments, Foreclosures of Mortgages, Essays on Savings Bank Insurance, the Tontine Plan, Dissertations on the Hyde Business, etc., etc.

THE reader will please to observe that in the present instance we glance first at the dark side of the picture. Did we omit to give this intimation, those who read our discussion of the subject now for the first time might suppose that we contemplated condemning all insurance companies, indiscriminately. Apart from the gross injustice of attempting any thing of the kind, it would be self-stultifying. But if the gardener has sometimes to give his first and chief attention to the thistles, the briers, and the fungi, it does not follow from his doing so that he has the less appreciation for the fruits, the plants, the flowers, etc., which the thistles, the briers, and the fungi would, in time, choke and destroy, if the hook and the knife were not brought to bear upon them.

That life insurance should continue to decline in popularity will not astonish any thoughtful observer. While the papers are full of reports of lawsuits, in which the devices of life companies to avoid payment—the tricks of agents who have no hesitation in ensnaring unwary parties to take out policies, and in substituting answers of their own to questions asked where the genuine answers would prevent the issuing of the policy, although they know that these very answers will be used by the company when the policies fall in as evidence of fraud on the part of the insured, and as a reason for non-payment—the delusive offers and promises which are almost sure to be evaded—and the years of expense, litigation, heart-burning, and anxiety to which the holders of policies are exposed—have become more and more palpable—it is not surprising that many persons should be willing to incur any risk rather than entrust their families to the tender mercies of an insurance company. The rich find it easy to make other provision for the protection of their families in case of emergency; while the poor consider even the savings bank a better security. It is an undeniable fact that, at the close of the year 1870, the life companies doing business in New York had nearly twenty-seven million dollars more at risk than at the close of 1874; while the savings banks, on the contrary, show a larger increase in the number of depositors and the net amount of deposits than in any previous year.

Few, comparatively, pause to reflect that all companies are not alike; that while some will avail themselves of any mean advantage, or use any possible engine of oppression, there are others who are distinguished not only for the justice but the liberality of their dealings. The unjust and oppressive acts of companies are of necessity those which come most prominently before the world; and from these acts and the law-

suits, and newspaper reports, which they entail, the general public draws its inferences, and the features which they indicate are assumed to be characteristic of all life companies. We proceed to mention a few recent cases which go far toward accounting for the present state of feeling.

The Mutual Life, as usual, takes the lead in appearing in its favorite attitude of resistance to the payment of a policy on which it had been for years receiving premiums without question. The action brought by R. A. Ripley, administrator of the estate of Arthur McDermott, promises curious revelations, not only as to the ingenious defences to which some life companies resort, but of other characteristics of their mode of doing business. The facts of the present case are reported in the daily papers substantially as follows: McDermott, who was an ignorant but honest cartman, had accumulated a small property by industry and frugality, and invested the same in real estate. On the property which he purchased there was a mortgage for $3,000, which in 1867 was called in and foreclosure threatened. In order to save the property McDermott applied to the Mutual Life for a loan of three thousand dollars, whereupon he was informed that, *as a condition precedent*, he must take out a policy on his life for ten thousand dollars! To this he acceded, having no other means of saving his property. Of course he was required to go through the form of an examination. When asked his age, he replied honestly that he did not know, but believed it to be in the neighborhood of forty years. No objection appears to have been made to the answer at the time, when, in all probability, McDermott could have procured more definite information had he been informed that it was required; but a policy was issued on the assumption that forty years was the correct age of the assured. The poor man was now saddled with the payment, not only of the interest on his mortgage, but the annual premium on a policy for $10,000, which policy there is no reason to suppose that he particularly desired to have, as he appears to have taken it out merely in compliance with the oppressive requisitions of the company's agents. Nevertheless he seems to have paid the premium and interest regularly for the remaining seven years of his life. In 1874 McDermott was knocked down and killed by a runaway horse, leaving seven small children and a widow, the latter an inmate of a lunatic asylum. When the administrator applied for payment of the insurance policy, it was denied on the ground that the deceased had not stated his age correctly; the company averring that at the time of taking out the policy he was forty-nine years of age instead of forty, the age assigned. Now that the matter is in suit, the company's counsel applies to the court for a commission to Ireland, to ascertain the date of McDermott's birth—which might have been ascertained with at least equal facility at the time of issuing the policy. This will, of

ourse, involve delay and expense, and as the company is rich and the eceased's family poor, may, and probably will, result in forcing the laintiff to a compromise, should that be the object which the company as in view.

Observe, there does not appear to be any pretence that McDermott ilfully deceived the company on the subject of his age. He stated ankly that he did not exactly know his age, but only guessed it. The fidavits of those who knew him long and well declare him to have been a honest, straightforward man, incapable of deceit or evasion. These fidavits appear to have been uncontradicted. If the information given the time were not satisfactory, why did not the examining officers so form McDermott, and refuse to issue him a policy until he could nder a more definite answer? But no; the company preferred to go a and receive the premiums, which, in the course of the defendant's fe, might amount to a considerable sum; and reserved this vague answer a loop-hole by which, in the event of his decease, it might hope to rade payment of the policy!

One of the most remarkable developments on the argument of this otion, was, that while the counsel for the company denied that his ient required any such condition for making a loan as appears to have een exacted from the deceased, he admitted *that some of the employés of e company might have suggested such a thing to McDermott.* If a company allow its agents to make such representations, and even to insert a their blank applications for loans a printed statement that the aplicant holds a life policy in the company—as some companies do—and ien habitually profit by the effect of such representations; why, whether ie proceeding be expressly authorized or not, the difference seems very imilar to that between the Little Endians and the Big Endians; the two reat parties in history who differed only as to the side upon which a *ose* egg should be broken.

It is satisfactory to learn that by the decision in the action of the Knickerbocker Life *vs.* Magdalena Peters, the Court of Appeals in Maryland has settled a question which it is surprising that any company laiming to be conscientious or intelligent should have attempted to aise. The insured in that case had committed suicide in an undoubted t of insanity; and the company resisted payment under a clause in the olicy which rendered it void "if the assured shall die by his own and or act." The court not only decides, but recognizes it to be settled law, that the unintentional or accidental taking of life is not within he meaning and intention of the clause; and that self-destruction in a it of insanity is a death by accident, and therefore does not vitiate the policy.

Some curious revelations have recently been made in an action between the half-extinct Hope Mutual and that worthy underwriter, Mr.

E. A. Lambert, ex-president of the Craftsmen's Life, that recall [illegible] proverb which it would not be polite to quote. Lambert claims to hav[illegible] entered into an agreement by which the Hope Mutual * was to pay hi[illegible] ten per cent. upon the net reserve value of all the policies of the Craft[illegible] men's he insured in the Hope, and five per cent. on the net reserve valu[illegible] of all policies in the Craftsmen's which were surrendered by the holde[illegible] thereof, and new policies of the Hope taken in their stead. He su[illegible] for an unpaid balance of $20,000. The Hope answers that th[illegible] contract was made on the same day and at the same time wi[illegible] the re-insurance contract between the two companies, and w[illegible] therefore *contra bonos mores*, and in the nature of a bribe to Mr. La[illegible] bert to secure the re-insurance of the Craftsmen's policies in the Ho[illegible] through his influence as its president. Mr. Lambert replies that, until t[illegible] contrary be proved, the assent of the Craftsmen's may be presumed [illegible] exist—he is careful not to say that it did exist—and that the Hope, havi[illegible] made this contract, is estopped from claiming that it was an impro[illegible] or dishonest one. Alas, poor Lambert! and, if possible, still poo[illegible] Hope or Hopeless!

We regret to state that the recent attempt to obtain justice for [illegible] policy-holders of the American National Life of New Haven, has proved [illegible] utter failure. The insurance commissioner had very properly institu[illegible] proceedings in the Probate Court, to have a trustee appointed for [illegible] company on the ground that its assets did not amount to three-four[illegible] of its liabilities. That such was the fact appeared beyond doubt. [illegible] But the company boldly met the issue with a statement of assets, includ[illegible] a quantity of absolutely worthless securities. For example, there w[illegible] agency balances—which many commissioners do not admit as an as[illegible] and which the evidence showed to be comparatively worthless—[illegible] mated at $15,705.80; also Brighton bonds with accrued interest—w[illegible] had been accruing for four years, and the evidence showed to be li[illegible] to accrue forever—$26,200.00; subscribed capital—which is n[illegible] admitted as an asset, and which had never been paid, and a large [illegible] tion of which had never been subscribed—assumed to amount[illegible] $84,700.00; uncollected premiums—which it showed little prospec[illegible] collecting—$45,582.46; accrued interest, $23,206.56.

Yet all these the court allowed to stand included as in Mr. Noyes' [illegible] mation of assets. Then even the remaining assets, which are concede[illegible] be worth something, were in every case immensely overrated. The i[illegible] rance building, valued at $269,822.50; other real estate at $9,604.00; [illegible] mortgages—which were not on property by any means worth double [illegible] amount loaned—$122,700.00; the stock and bonds—some of w[illegible] were very doubtful securities—$178,790.00; the loans, $16,828.[illegible] the premium notes on policies in force, $235,900.38; the furniture, [illegible]

* We always called it the "Hopeless Mutual."

ed at $12,264.51 (!); the cash, $10,501.33. The over-valuation of most f these is self-evident. But, accepting these assets at Mr. Noyes' valuation, they amount to only $856,421.70—a sum considerably less than hree-fourths of its liabilities, which amounted to $1,335,068.28. But he court allowed the above $195,404.82 of imaginary or worthless assets o be included in the calculation; and thus decided that the assets of he company exceeding three-fourths of its liabilities, the petition of he commissioner must be dismissed. Small hope for the widows and rphans of the future whose funds have gone into the voracious maw of he company; and little security to be anticipated from State supervision, if this is to be regarded as a test case.

The Life companies have suddenly bloomed out into one of their eriodical outbursts of self-puffery. Two or three of them, in particular, ppear by some means to have filled the insurance journals with an irepressible sense of their merits. At the head of those is the New York ife, with whose laudation and that of its individual officers some of he organs literally rave. Whether this indicates merely that in Mrs. arley's words, "the general public wants stimulating;" or is really he forerunner of some new offence which will smell rank to heaven, hrough all the sweet odors of newspaper eulogy, only time and the vent can show.

The Equitable Life, by the way, prefers to give a hand in its own uffing—advertising its readiness to make loans on first-class real estate. We know what that means—and offering "the most desirable forms of olicy upon selected lives," including "the Tontine Savings Fund lan," whose chief merit seems to be that it accumulates a great surplus r the company, but which has been justly styled, "a game beside hich the faro-bank and the roulette-table are respectable."

Times like the present, including the last two years, are well calulated to develop the true character of life companies, so that the most areless, or most short-sighted, if not hopelessly stupid, can hardly fail see how much confidence should be placed in them. Thus, on one de, we have those lawsuits which show what "noble benefactors" the [utual Life, the New York Life, the Equitable, the Connecticut Mual, and some of their worthy brethren of the smaller fry, are.

But unfortunately there will always be a large number of our race ho must be placed in the category of "hopelessly stupid." This reminds us that some pretend to be very much offended at the Darwinian eory. Yet who that knows any thing of natural history, will say that ven the baboon will allow himself to be caught with chaff? Long as he donkey's ears are, loud as he brays, simple and unsophisticated as is aspect is, he will stoutly protest against having his eyes bandaged. hough not at all fastidious in his tastes—he will dine on thistles as eadily as on oats—the most cunning sharper could not persuade him to xchange either of those articles for lichen or fungus.

But are there not thousands of our people who, while claiming to be the smartest of all races, not only submit without a murmur to have their eyes bandaged, but also to have the most nauseous sort of dust thrown into them? There is not one of the above corporations which has not blown its horn from one end of Europe to the other, offering its wonderful goods at the cheapest rate. But even the most ignorant and most credulous—those who think that money is as plenty in America as pumpkins, squashes, or Indian corn—laugh at them and tell their agents to return home and first pay the thousands of widows and orphans whom they have robbed "in the land of liberty." Moreover, a part of the advice has had to be taken in most instances; that is, the "noble benefactors" have been forced to return; but to pay the widow or the orphan, when payment can be evaded by hook or crook, that is quite another matter.

But as public calamities render the avaricious more and more daring in their efforts to gratify their avarice, so the same calamities render conscientious, philanthropic men more conscientious and more philanthropic than ever, if possible. There is no fact in moral philosophy more fully established than this. It is strikingly illustrated in the history of every great epidemic, ancient and modern, every devastating war, every extensive conflagration; in short, every visitation by which large numbers are suddenly or even gradually rendered unable to meet their pecuniary engagements. If we draw an illustration or two from the lower animals, we shall see that it is in the midst of such calamities man is enabled to distinguish the friendship of the wolf or the raven from that of the dog. He finds that while the former are ever ready to tear out his heart the moment the opportunity presents itself, the latter is ready to die by his side if death be his fate. In other words, just as the pelican is said to have nourished its young with its own blood when no other food was within its reach, so, in another sense, has the faithful dog been well known to do in a thousand instances in return for the food that falls—often precariously and scantily—from his master's table.

And is the human master less noble or less generous than his canine servant and friend? Far be such misanthropy from us. If what is recorded by ancient naturalists of the pelican be only a fable, it is no fable, but as well attested a fact as any in history, that there have been men in every age who would deliberately devote themselves to ruin and desolation, rather than be the cause of bringing ruin and desolation on others. There are such men at this moment, degenerate as our age is said to be, and "hard" as the times really are; and most emphatically and sincerely do we maintain that there are such, in their best attributes and characteristics, among the insurance fraternity.

It ought to be needless to mention to our readers, at this time, the

particular companies to which these men belong, since we have not only done so repeatedly, but indicated the proofs. Unfortunately, however, it is not needless. It is because the public has so defective a memory that there are so many lawsuits, and that so many find when it is too late that they have made bad use of their money. Hence it is that we have adopted, in these discussions, the maxim of Seneca, that repetition is the parent of knowledge in all things in which the public has an interest.

Be this as it may, it is certain that no parents could give their children better advice than to avoid insuring their lives in companies that are too fond of lawsuits, and to prefer those companies that are never seen or heard in the courts except when efforts are made to cheat their policy-holders. The first representative of the latter class we happen to recall is the New England Mutual. Who can point out a stain on the escutcheon of this company? When or where has it entered court otherwise than with truth and justice on its side? What policy-holder of that company can say that he had been induced to insure his life in it by false representation? We have yet to hear of the widow or the orphan, among the large number with whom it has had dealings during its long and honorable career, who would utter a reproach against it, or attempt to cast the slightest stain on its fair fame.

Had we been anxious to do so, when could we have pointed out a single act, or proceeding, on the part of the Manhattan Life, which any intelligent, impartial mind could deliberately censure, much less pronounce dishonest or dishonorable? What widow, or orphan, has it wronged out of one penny? Who will point out a house in the city of New York, or elsewhere, that this company has made its own by taking advantage of the temporary inability of its owner to pay the interest on a mortgage? When, or in what instance, has it called in the principal, not because it wanted the money—but because it knew that it was not to be had without a foreclosure?

The Continental Life (N. Y.) is comparatively young, but old enough to have learned that honesty is the best policy. It indulges in no sharper-like traffic with the money of its policy-holders. In short, the officers of that company are not usurers or speculators in mortgaged houses; they leave the pawnbroking department of Life Insurance—also the litigation with widows and orphans—to the Winstons, the Hydes, etc. Probably it does not grow rich as fast as it would if it indulged in some of the operations alluded to, especially in the *Hyde* business.

With the characters of the American Life, and Provident Life and Trust, of Philadelphia, our readers are also familiar. At least we have afforded them sufficient criteria from time to time whereby to test that of each. It may be remembered that of Philadelphia Life companies, in general, we have never entertained a very exalted opinion; but for this

very reason we have felt it all the more incumbent on us to do justice to the unquestionable merits of the two corporations mentioned.

There are two companies not sufficiently known to our readers, which, while so many other companies have gone on from bad to worse, have been steadily improving, both in their plans and habits; not that the twain have any particular resemblance to each other in their "features" as life corporations, except that both do business on the stock basis. For the rest they are as different from each other as the two cities in which their home offices are respectively located. Those having any knowledge of both will now readily understand that we allude to the Universal Life and the St. Louis Life.

Instead of our being unwilling to acknowledge the progress made by the Universal, because we criticised it on former occasions, it really affords us all the more pleasure on that very account to bear testimony that, so far as we can judge, it no longer deserves criticism, but emphatic approbation. That we have not come to this conclusion abruptly, or without good reason, may be seen by turning to the Insurance Appendix in our last number,* in which we reproduced a letter written by one of its officers to the owner of property, on which the North America then, as now, managed by the Universal officers, had a mortgage. This letter, written in the ordinary course of business, contrasted so strikingly with certain other letters and proceedings which we felt it our duty to denounce, at the time, as tyrannical and oppressive, that we felt it deserved to be printed in golden letters, if that would cause it to redound any thing the more to the honor of the office whence it emanated.

Being of an investigating turn—wishing to trace effects to their causes, and *vice versâ*, we have since turned our attention to the official documents of several companies, and found a state of things which shows that at last the public begins to open its eyes. In illustration of this, we will present a few periods of figures, which it will be admitted are significant. Thus, while the Universal exhibits an *increase* of the number of policies outstanding December 31, 1874, as compared with the amount of the preceding year, of nearly *fourteen millions*, ($13,637,-896,) the Equitable exhibits a *decrease*, even on its own showing, of more than *three millions* ($3,253,120,).† This needs no comment. The intel-

* LX., p. 405.

† As we have hitherto given our readers no definite idea of the financial basis of the Universal, we present a period or two of its fundamental figures here, partly as a matter of simple justice to the company, and partly as a criterion for those interested in its condition. Its assets at the beginning of the present year, as shown by official documents, was $4,653,851.11. Nearly half of this ($2,128,461.72) is in the substantial form of bonds and mortgages. The securities ranking next in extent and unquestionable value are United States and city bonds—$497,512.50. After deducting all liabilities, there remained a surplus of $707,761.18. There is good reason to believe, from the facts stated above in the text, that the present condition of the company is still better than that of six months ago.

ligent reader will be able to judge for himself whether, after all, the pawnbroking style of insurance, more recently called "the *Hyde* business," pays.

We may remark, in passing, that we have further learned, in pursuing this line of research, that the course of the trustees of the old Knickerbocker, in preventing their third president from treating the unhappy patient in his own skilful way, is producing results the upshot of which cannot be doubtful. Thus, for instance, it is too evident, even from the Knickerbocker's own figures, that it was more than *seven millions* ($7,842,995) worse off at the close of 1874 than it was at the close of 1873. In other words, the number of its outstanding policies, December 31, 1874, exhibits a *decrease* from that of the corresponding date of 1873, of *two thousand one hundred and seventy-four* (2,174). But whether this is due to the arrogant, ignorant, oppressive interference of the trustees with the management of their third president, or is to be traced more directly to such suits as that curious one—the Knickerbocker Life *vs.* Magdalena Peters—is yet an open question. Be this as it may, poor Magdalena has had a hard time with the Knickerbocker. She may well thank the Maryland Court of Appeals—as we are assured she does, with tears of joy—for having rescued her, even with her sable garments torn, from the cloven hoof of "Old Knick."

But to return for a moment to the St. Louis Life. We had never known much about this company before our recent tour to the Southwest; and we trust our readers would bear us testimony that what we do not know we do not undertake to discuss. We confess we were not a little surprised at the accounts we heard, *in transitu*, without any inquiries on our part, of the good deeds of the St. Louis Life. Having heard many speak approvingly, some most gratefully, of the company, we became so much interested in its character that we concluded to visit its home office, which we found to embrace the chief part of one of the finest brown stone palaces in the wealthy, aristocratic city of St. Louis. A glance at the various officers in their respective departments, each surrounded by a corps of clerks—both officers and clerks busy at work—while the policy-holders entered at one door and made their exit at another—all appearing satisfied with the information, or something more substantial which they received—seemed to us to afford as good a picture of prosperity as we had seen for some time. We were assured by our St. Louis friends that the company is chiefly indebted for its success to the judicious and skilful management of its secretary, Mr. S. W. Lomax, who is one of its youngest officers. Be this as it may, the St. Louis Life has every appearance of success, solidity, and permanency. Judging from all we heard and saw, it can well afford to give its chief, if not exclusive attention to its home business. It offers no "savings bank" or "Tontine" plan, promises no absurdities

or impossibilities, but shows its policy-holders a solid pile of assets, amounting to the handsome sum of $7,400,000.

The "assets" of the United States are becoming more and more, not like the tresses of the Nut Brown Maid, but like Bridget's chignon. Its third or fourth president, who, unhappily for the policy-holders, proves the silliest of all, is in a state of alarm which demands the prompt attention of his friends. Remembering that there was a falling off last year of 478 policy-holders, as compared to the number of the previous year, which was by no means large, that distinguished underwriter has had recourse to some curious devices for the purpose of checking the retrograde movement. One of these is eminently characteristic. The Insurance Times gets up a sort of dissertation, which it styles, "Standing Well with Others and Looking Out for Our Own." Our worthy functionary is smitten with this. He addresses a letter to the editor, headed with all the numbers on the building in which the United States Life has its office, orders 5,000 copies, and concludes his epistle in the following very grammatical and sensible language:

"It is a powerful appeal to common sense in favor of life insurance, and no man can read it without *seeing* the duty of insuring *in a fresh and strong light* (*sic*) *that will prove almost irresistible.* If used freely, it will, I believe, become a valuable assistant to life insurance agents, and *reinforce* their arguments and *persuasions with an effect that will prevail* upon thousands of the indifferent and wavering, to protect their families against *the consequences that follow the loss* of husband and father, with that only infallible safeguard against want and poverty—life insurance.

"Yours truly, JOHN E. DE WITT."

This is refreshing reading while the mercury is above 90° Fahr. The document praised in such a queer dialect must be magical, indeed, if the 5,000 copies of it purchased for the benefit of the United States Life will induce one sensible person to invest his spare dollars in "the only infallible safeguard" offered by that stalwart institution. The "arguments and *persuasions* with an *effect* that will *prevail*" in such a case would cast those of the wisest ever made by the Pythian goddess far into the shade.

The Fire Companies appear to be dividing their time between complimentary dinners and a discussion of the new Surplus Law, or law authorizing the formation of a special reserve fund, which means the setting aside of one-half the gross surplus beyond capital and the amount required to re-insure existing risks (which gross surplus, it should be understood, *includes the amount received for unearned premiums* or premiums on unexpired policies, an amount constituting an actual liability under the general law) for the purpose of protecting *unburned policy-holders*, and constituting a fund which *shall not be liable to the claims of burned policy-holders*, and may be applied to preserving the company creating such fund in case of an extraordinary conflagration.

Without entering deeply into the merits of the new law, it appears to us that its principal effect will be to invert the order in which parties

connected with fire insurance companies are commonly supposed to be entitled to protection. Those whose rights are first to be considered, it would naturally seem, are the burned policy-holders; those who have actually suffered the loss for which they are entitled to indemnity under their policies, and who, as most persons would consider, should be indemnified to the utmost extent of the company's available assets. Next come the unburned policy-holders; those whose policies have not yet expired, and who are entitled to a continuance of their security for the full period for which they have paid their premiums. This, of course, would seem sufficiently provided for by the amount which every fire company is required by law to set aside for the purpose of re-insuring existing risks. Last of all come the stockholders who are equitably entitled only to participate in such funds as may remain after all losses have been paid and all unburned policy-holders secured.

This new surplus law deliberately inverts the position of these three parties. It first cares for the stockholders—for it allows them to receive dividends on this special reserve fund, exactly like the rest of the surplus; and provides a fund, which in case of extraordinary conflagrations cannot be applied to the payment of any losses, but may be used to form a new capital for the company, the superintendent being authorized by the statute to transfer such reserve fund to the company, who are declared to be "forever discharged from any and all liability to claimants for actual losses or any of them." The next object of its consideration, is the unburned policy-holders; for whose benefit an amount equal to the unearned premiums of the company is retained out of the general assets, and paid over with the reserve fund to the company; who, however, is not required to re-insure said unburned policy-holders, but may carry on its own business for their protection, or non-protection as the events will show. Last of all come the actual sufferers by the conflagration; who find themselves coolly deprived of one-half the surplus fund, on which they had counted for the payment of their losses, and compelled to content themselves with a mere fraction of their dues, while the company coolly carries on its nefarious traffic, utterly ignoring its helpless victims.

We trust that this law will not be allowed to stand; that the policy-holders in any company proposing to avail itself of its provisions, will make use of the remedy by injunction, which the law places within their reach, and test the constitutionality of the act; and that, in the mean time, all parties who are taking out new policies or renewing old ones, will be careful to ascertain, in the first instance, whether it puts any portion of its funds out of reach in case of losses, and refuse to insure their property in any company which has so done.

What fire insurance companies will do in the way of dividends to stockholders under the protection of this new law, may be inferred from what they have done during the past year. When we compare the in-

crease of assets in some of these companies with the increase of dividends, the contrast is positively startling. The Arctic, for example, whose increase of net assets is set down at $4,373.00, paid out in dividends, $20,314.00, or nearly $11,000 more than in the preceding years.

The Commerce, whose increase was $384.00, paid $20,000, or just double its figure in 1873. The Irving, having an increase of $10,770.00, paid $27,265.00 against $490.00 in the preceding year. The Rochester German, with an increase of $4,009.00, paid $25,000.00, which was an increase of $18,000.00. The Allemania, of Pittsburgh, shows an increase of $60,000.00 in dividends against $37,349.00 assets. These are only examples taken from a large number of similar performances.

From reports of cases before us, it would appear that some fire companies are not so fond of paying losses as dividends. Here we have the case of Underwood *vs.* The Farmers' Joint Stock Insurance Company, where payment was resisted on the ground that proofs of loss had not been furnished within the required time, although the delay appeared to have been at the request of the company's agent. A still more barefaced act of oppression appears on the part of the Andes Fire, of Ohio, which sued a man named Loehr, for a premium which he had actually paid to its broker or agent in New York, but which the latter had embezzled. This action was based on a provision in the policy, "the person or persons, other than the assured, who have procured this insurance to be taken by this company, shall be deemed the agent or agents of the assured, and not of this company, in any and all transactions relating to this insurance." Oppressive as it may seem, the provision has hitherto been held as a matter of law, to apply to brokers and regular agents of a company. The New York Court of Common Pleas has, however, in this case, swept away the false principle, and decided that the company was bound by the act of its authorized agent. Here, fortunately, we have one notable engine of oppression annihilated.

The fire, like the life companies, are at present indulging extensively in eulogies. At least those in the insurance journals have become remarkably numerous, and though they *may* proceed from an uncontrolable feeling of admiration on the part of disinterested journalists, still ill-natured persons—and sometimes persons who are not ill-natured likewise—are apt to draw different conclusions. We would advise the friends of these various companies, and especially of the Phœnix Fire, of Brooklyn, not to expend so much enthusiasm on the magnificence of their offices. Splendor of office and furniture, or even superb architectural effects, will not have so much attraction for parties seeking insurance as the certainty of having their losses promptly indemnified without litigation or other unnecessary delays, or the risk of a general smash in the event of an extensive conflagration.

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. LXII.

SEPTEMBER, 1875.

ART. I.—1. *Antiquities of the Christian Church.* By JOSEPH BINGHAM, M. A. 9 vols. Vol. vii. London. 1840.

2. *Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce.* By H. D. MORGAN, M. A. 2 vols. London. 1826.

3. *Ancient Law.* By Sir HENRY MAINE. London. 1868.

THE conflict between the two opposing, and, as yet, irreconcilable methods of thought—the secular or rational, and the spiritual or ecclesiastical—is nowhere more strikingly manifest than in the progress of law and opinion concerning the marriage relation. Rude forms of this conflict may be traced in the social phenomena of people the most barbaric, showing that the leaven of civilization was early implanted in the human mind. Less rude and more strongly marked evidence of it may be observed among races slightly removed from the barbaric, and still more strongly among those that may be said to be semi-civilized, embracing by far the greater part of the warlike nations of the present age. Our own era shows some indications of its decline; but those indications are limited to a few localities, here and there, and are by no means as promising as they might be, or as over-hopeful people presume them to be.

In pagan Rome, in the days of her ascendency, the conflict between these two opposing systems had nearly died out, in respect to the natural status of marriage, by the institution of the civil compact. The same may be said of some of the contemporary States of the East, whose laws and customs were strongly influenced by, if not clearly derived from, those of Rome. If the rites and ceremonies of religion were not altogether ignored in solemnizing the marital compact, in these ancient civilizations, they were considered entirely subordinate to the civil process. The laws of the State gave validity to a matrimonial compact contracted in accordance with its civil provisions, the religious ceremonial being called in, if at all, as a convenient, pleasing, and eminently fitting means of celebrating an event already *un fait accompli.* The sacrifice of a sheep and the *farreum libum;* the use of the coronal wreath; the flammeum, or veil; the final address of the priest to the gods, etc., although usual accompaniments of the highest form of marriage—that of Confarreatio, in the ancient empire—were neither less nor more essential to the validity of that social compact than are the ring, the floral offerings, the altar, the benediction, or, in fact, the missal itself, in the British Empire to-day. While these forms, or modifications of them, are eminently befitting the occasion they celebrate, they are, at the same time, eminently spectacular, and as distinct from the real as shadow from substance, the jewel from the casket which contains it, or the symbol from the sacrifice which it represents.

This conclusion of the subject was reached by the most advanced of mankind more than two thousand years ago, and incorporated in the civil code—the Roman code—which is the basis of the civil jurisprudence of the civilized world to-day. But it was destined to be disputed, and finally to be wholly ignored, at least for a time. With the decline of the power and prestige of the Roman Empire, some of the best of her laws and customs fell into disuse. The good and the bad shared a common fate—were branded with the same obloquy, which was fittingly expressed in the word *pagan*—

The new faith, which was gradually evolved from the ruins of the old by an inspiration which, if not of heaven, was certainly superior to any thing of the kind the world had known, looked with disfavor upon all customs and institutions of a religious character that had been sanctioned by the laws of the old *règime*. Three or four centuries under the new dispensation sufficed to eradicate the old ideas and methods from the mind of mankind, and to indoctrinate it with those of the new. While, in the old, or pagan dispensation, the highest ideal of life and duty was patriotism, or fidelity to the State, in the new, or Christian, the highest ideal of life and duty was fidelity to God. In the one, mental accomplishments and worldly fame were the sufficient reward of a noble life; in the other, the only reward looked for, or desired, for a life well spent, was the love of God and the hope of heaven. It was not unnatural then, that, under the inspiration of the new dispensation, theology, or the science of the Godhead, became the dominant philosophy. Christianity was a theocracy no less than was Judaism. Man no longer lived for himself, for the race, but for the glory of God. Even the rites and offices of religion, which became man's chief occupation, were performed less on his own account, and in his own behalf, than in and for the service and glory of God. The kingdom of the one was of this world; that of the other was of the world to come. To the one this world was a vale of tears, full of losses, crosses, and disappointments, to be endured for a time, with no hope of amelioration, as a suitable preparation for another; the other, while recognizing the evils of this world, which were obvious enough, could not but regard the earth as man's rightful inheritance, and eminently worthy every possible effort for its cultivation and improvement, since his own immediate welfare, as well as that of future generations, were closely identified with it. The one was pre-eminently secular and practical, and left the occult problems of a life beyond the grave to be dealt with face to face, in their proper time and place; the other was pre-eminently theologic and spiritual, and did not hesitate to sacrifice the earthly, temporal destiny,

if, by doing so, that of the eternal might be doubly exalted and secured. In brief, the supreme authority of one was reason, while that of the other was revelation.

Looking at these diverging ideas of life and duty at this distance, in the light of the experience of eighteen hundred years, we cannot be altogether insensible of the faults and virtues of both. The time will come when each will acknowledge its indebtedness to the other, and meet each other upon a common basis of mutual understanding. That epoch would, indeed, be near at hand, if it were not so difficult for many good people, and all bad ones, to distinguish between the apparent and the real, the spirit and the letter. If it were possible for the brave contestants of the world's thought—or lack of thought—to exchange positions, to alternately occupy each other's point of observation, now and then, there would be less hostile clashings of opinion, if, indeed, the fundamental differences which provoke them were not thereby readily composed. Those who doubt the power of a living faith, when thoroughly believed and resolutely lived, have read the early history of Christianity to little purpose. The truth of Christ, at first accepted only by a few well-chosen, self-sacrificing souls, was of slow growth, although it fell upon fallow ground, and under conditions the most propitious. But, like the acorn, planted in congenial soil, and ministered unto by a congenial sun and atmosphere, it took deep root, and, in time, developed into mighty proportions. Beginning with the lowly and despised, the suffering and oppressed, it spread by degrees to the better circumstanced classes, and finally indoctrinated the rich and the influential. Being at first a religion pure, simple, unpretentious, addressed to the heart and taking hold of the life, developing in the character the fruits of the spirit and ideal conceptions of a higher and a nobler existence, it became, under the manipulations of the Greek and Roman speculative philosophers—an Athanasius and an Ambrose, a Chrysostom and a Cyprian, a Gregory and a Tertullian—a most subtle and abstruse theology. And, finally, when it fell a victim to the crafty patronage of kings, emperors, and

ambassadors, it was gradually transformed into a vast ecclesiasticism. These results, so foreign to its original aim and conception, so inconsistent with the humble teaching of the divine Jesus, were mostly accomplished during the first four centuries of the new era, and were the legitimate sequences of worldly compromise and political contamination.*

Thus, firmly established in the great centres of the world's thought and activity, in the foci of learning and philosophy, of political power and court intrigue, Christianity finally became the dominant force of Europe. With equal facility it formulated laws and annulled them; made dynasties and unmade them; put kings on thrones and took them off thrones.

Councils, exclusively composed of bishops and other accredited Christian dignitaries, not only prescribed the limitations of knowledge and decided upon what was useful and what injurious, what was worth knowing and what not, in art and literature, but definitively settled the merits of scientific discovery. The decrees of these ecclesiastical councils were superior to the civil statutes in all matters, religious

* Mosheim states that, with the evil of giving a forced interpretation to the Scriptures that was practiced by the learned Clement and others in the second century, after the example of the celebrated Philo, "was connected another that proved equally detrimental to the interest of Christianity. For, not content with thus perverting and straining the Holy Scriptures, in support of such philosophical tenets as they deemed just and reasonable, the Christians of the Ammonian school, with a view to illustrate, still more clearly, the perfect accordance of human with divine wisdom, and in this way the more readily to draw over philosophers to their side, proceeded to the further length of giving to the most plain and obvious maxims and precepts of the Gospel such an exposition as might render them apparently consistent with the philosophical notions and opinions which they had so unfortunately been led to espouse."—(*History of Christianity, the First Three Centuries*, vol. i., section xxxiv.) These practices began in the second century, and continued with an ingenuity still more subtle during the third century—*vide* citations from the ancient writings given in Mosheim's notes to his history. The endeavors of the early Christians to reconcile revelation with philosophy is not without its parallel in modern times; and, if the conscientious Mosheim were living to-day, we dare not presume to say in what language he would characterize it.

and ecclesiastical, and in many of those that were purely civil and political. Thus arose a new kind of law—canonical law—and a new kind of court—spiritual courts—for the adjudication of causes coming within the pale of the canon law. The relations of the sexes which, up to this period, toward the close of the third century, had been under the ostensible control of the civil authority, fell by degrees under the rule and domination of the church. Marriage was pronounced by her authoritative councils a "sacrament" of divine and not of human appointment. She gave to it a new character—the sacramental; prescribed the terms on which parties could embrace it; the causes which would invalidate, annul, or dissolve it; and the ceremony by which it could be solemnized. "It becomes both men and women," says Ignatius of the first century, "when they marry, to make the union μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, with the will and direction of the bishop, that the marriage may be according to the Lord, and not merely according to the instigation of their own lust." *

The later fathers taught the same high-toned doctrine concerning the marriage relation. Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and others, in the third and fourth centuries, maintained that the tie of marital unity should be sealed by the prayer and benediction of a priest, "that the husband's love might increase and the wife's chastity might be improved; that the works of virtue might enter into the house by all that was then done, and the wiles and works of the devil be cast out." † Thus matrimonial matters continued for several centuries under Christian teaching and practice, until, finally, what was formerly only advised as commendable, and enforced by precept and example, became, with the growth of power and prestige of the church, a mandatory custom. As early as A. D. 520, we find Pope Hormisdas issuing a decree "that no one should make a clandestine

* Quoted by Gothofred, *Tertullian*, *Monogamia*, ch. xi. Cited by Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, vol. vii., p. 331.

† *Chrysostom Hom.*, ch. xiv., p. 3, *in Genes.*, *tome* ii., p. 681. *Ib.*, p. 333.

marriage; but, receiving the benediction of the priest, should marry publicly in the Lord;"* a clandestine marriage being a marriage privately contracted and consummated without the religious formality. The decree, however, seems not to have been put in force to any great extent, for its provisions were disregarded by a large class of people, heretics, Jews, etc., who continued to respect the civil compact of the ancients, or to marry according to the religious rites of their own order. Late in the eighth century, therefore, another attempt was made in the West, by Charles the Great, to reduce to uniformity the form of Christian marriage, and to suppress all other forms inconsistent or in conflict with it. About the year A. D. 780, according to Bingham's notes,† Charles issued a decree "that no marriage should be celebrated any other way but by blessing, with sacerdotal prayers and oblations, and whatever marriages were performed otherwise, should not be accounted true marriages, but adultery, concubinage, or fornication." Nevertheless, Blackstone affirms that the introduction of the Roman civil and canon law into England occurred in 1135, during the reign of the usurper, Stephen, and that "at the same time was imported the doctrine of appeals to the court of Rome, as a branch of the canon law."‡

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* *Chrysostom Hom.*, ch. xiv., p. 3, *in Genes.*, *tome* ii., p. 681. Cited by Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, vol. vii., p. 333.

† *Ib.*, and authorities cited.

‡ *Commentaries*, Cooley, vol. iv., p. 421. From first to last, there has been a good deal of dispute concerning the date of the complete subjugation of the marital compact to the control of canonical law. On this account, have we been more anxious to be precise as to dates. The distinguished commentator on English jurisprudence, Blackstone, is evidently in error when he says that "Pope Innocent III. was the first who ordained the celebration of marriage in the church, before which it was totally a civil contract."—(*Commentaries*, ch. xv.) In respect of the matter, Morgan observes:

"The doctrine, that it is essential to marriage that it be performed by a person in orders, is founded, not on the statute, but the common law, the unwritten, unrepealed law of the remotest antiquity, and applies equally to the present form of solemnization, which is undisputed; to

In the Eastern Church the progress of ecclesiastical usurpation was much slower, relative to the social relations, but it was not the less sure, nor was it destined to be turned back so soon. Not until about A. D. 900 was it that a similar decree was enforced by Leo Sapiens, in the Eastern Empire, to her own discredit, and the injustice and dismay of millions of her subjects. While in the West, a few centuries sufficed to destroy the force and effect and to repair the mischief of this

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the celebration in the face of the church or the congregation, under the law of Henry VIII. and the ritual of Edward VI., and to the ancient *dos ad ostium ecclisiæ*. * * * It is acknowledged that, by the laws of France, so early as the beginning of the ninth century (A. D. 820), the use of the sacerdotal benediction, and the contract of marriage in the church in the presence of the priest, was not only common, but that no other marriage was deemed legitimate; and that, under this customary form of nuptial benediction, the second of our English sovereigns, Ethelwolf, was married to the daughter of Charles the Bold. The practice of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors is further explained by the laws of King Edmund, in the following century (A. D. 940), requiring the presence of a priest at the espousals, who, by delivering the blessing of God, might promote the union of the parties in all sanctity and in all fulness of happiness. And the council of Winchester, in the next century (A. D. 1076), declares it to be no less than the prostitution of a daughter to give her in marriage without the benediction of the priest. Other councils of the same age require the celebration in the face of the church, and prohibit the celebration in private and unhallowed places. [*Ux. Ebr.* I., ii., ch. xxix. *Comber. Intr. Office of Matr.*] In a great council held in Ireland (A. D. 1171), it was ordered that the laity, who wished to have wives, should unite them to themselves by the ecclesiastical law; for many of them had as many wives as they liked, and were accustomed to take wives of their relatives, and even their sisters, if *germanas* is here to be so understood. [*Gent. Mag.*, vol. xciv., pt. ii., p. 247, from the *Decem Scuptores*, col. 1071.]" Hector Davies Morgan, M. A., Trinity College, Oxford. *The Law of Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce*, vol. i., pp. 134–136. London, 1826.

These synodal authorities, be it observed, were, previous to the Fourth Lateran Council of Innocent III., held in 1213, at which time Blackstone intimates that the religious ceremony and jurisdiction of marriage was engrafted on the ecclesiastical customs of the Church of Rome. Chancellor Kent repeats the declaration of the great English jurist affirming that, "before Innocent III., marriage was totally a civil contract."—*Commentaries*, vol. ii., foot-note, p. 55.

ecclesiastical outrage on civil and religious liberty, in the East the ecclesiastical edict still remains in full effect, and not until recently has the subject of repealing it been broached with any prospect of success—millions of people within her jurisdiction, but dissenting from the established religion of the empire, being under matrimonial ban, and declared by the laws of the land to be of bastard parentage.

It would be interesting to follow in some detail the progress of society in Europe under the complete domination of ecclesiastical law; to note the quality and degree of virtue which was developed under it, as well as the foul developments of shame and injustice which grew like rank weeds under its rule for many centuries, until society seemed well-nigh asphyxiated with the rank accumulation. To do so, however, would extend the limit to which we have, for obvious reasons, restricted ourselves. It is all a matter of history, however; and we will proceed to events which led to reform and the final overthrow of a system of jurisprudence which, for evil consequences, surpassed any thing which Europe has seen or ever will see.

The corruptions engendered in every department of human affairs, under the dominance of ecclesiastical law, led to its decline and final subversion. The leaven of civil and religious reform had been working for years, yea, centuries, but the culmination was reached in the West by the events of the Reformation in Germany, in 1520, and its complete success assured at the rupture of Henry VIII. with Rome a few years later.

The disreputable troubles of that miserable monarch with his unhappy wives were of signal benefit to the cause of civil reform. It was one of these timely "accidents" of history which have so frequently heralded the civil and religious progress of humanity. It was surely no part of the programme of Henry VIII., upon breaking with Rome, to break the power of her ecclesiasticism, and restore the precepts of the common law in respect of the marital compact. Yet it contributed to that effect. It was a bold defiance of a power which it was only necessary to make to reveal its impotence.

But neither Henry VIII. nor his crafty advisers seem entitled to any credit for the amazing consequences which followed. At the definitive adoption of that which subsequently became the Thirty-nine Articles, and which constituted, not only the creed of the new church, but also the laws of the old realm, the supremacy of ecclesiastical law was maintained. The canons of the Roman councils were accepted and their authority reaffirmed, except in so far as they conflicted with the exigencies of the new situation. The statute of 25 Henry VIII., ch. xix., expressly declared, that "all existing canons, not in conflict with the laws of the realm, or the royal prerogative, were continued in force." "Since the Reformation," says the learned Herzog, "the canon law has undergone numerous changes and limitations." * New canons and ecclesiastical constitutions were subsequently adopted, and their authority recognized as supreme, over marriage, government, the church, mode of worship, discipline of the clergy, and other church officers, etc. And, when the authority of ecclesiastical councils, in civil matters, became impaired, the spirit of their provisions was still the ruling power, and continued for a long time to shape the course of civil and religious institutions. With parliament full of bishops, and an archbishop for prime minister, canonical decrees and ecclesiastical constitutions could well be dispensed with. Parliament did ecclesiastical work under the guise of statute law, and the similarity in effect of the two kinds of jurisprudence, in the subsequent century, attests the substantial identity of their inspiration, although proceeding upon very different methods.

In respect of marriage and the questions which devolve upon that institution, as dower, entail, etc., the Anglican Church lost no time in assuming entire control and direction. It became more despotic, if possible, in the name of Christ, than the parent church. Not only did the Church of Henry VIII. assume to define the nature of the marital compact, as the Latin Church had done centuries before, and almost in the

* Herzog's *Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia*—Art. Anglican Church.

same words, but it also imitated the Latin missal of that church in prescribing the forms, the observance of which was essential to a valid marriage. Whatever doctrinal discrepancies subsisted between the missals of the two churches, the church episcopal was chiefly ambitious that its religious and marital doctrines should be more thoroughly scriptural.* While, in its view, there was no warrant in the sacred writings to invest marriage with a sacramental character, that compact was clearly of divine origin, as proved by the inspired record in Genesis ii., and confirmed by the divine sanction and blessing, which the presence of Christ conferred upon it at the marriage festival in Cana.

But the doctrinal differences between the two churches, on the subject, were more apparent than real. Both looked upon adultery as a crime allied to arson and murder; a crime against human nature and the conjugal consort? By no means. It was, rather, a crime against matrimony—against religion—against God. It was, therefore, no plea or justification for divorce. Nothing could put asunder that which God had joined together. The Anglican joined with the Roman Church in declaring a conjugal union irrevocable that had been formed in compliance with the prescribed terms of His church or churches. In this opinion they were consistent, surely; but subsequent events have greatly modified it in respect of the Anglican Church, at least. Rome alone maintains her consistency. Moreover, the Latin Church regarded marriage as a "sacrament;" the Episcopal, an "excellent mystery." The following brief extracts from the marriage service of the respective churches will place the matter of difference in a clearer light:

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.	CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
"Matrimony is a holy state, originally instituted by Almighty God between our first parents (Gen. ii.), ratified and confirmed by the Son of God in the New Testament	"Matrimony is an honorable estate (Heb. xiii., 6), instituted by God (Matt. xix., 4, 5, 6, etc.) in the time of man's innocence (Gen. ii., 20, 24), signifying unto us the

* *Vide* Hume's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 350.

(Matt. xix., 4, 5, 6), honored by his first miracle (John ii.), and raised by him to the dignity of a sacrament, as a most holy sign and mysterious representation of the indissoluble union of Christ and his church."

mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his church (Eph. v., 32); which holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with his presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee (John ii.), and is commended of Saint Paul to be honorable among all men (Heb. xiii., 4). God has consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his church (Eph. v., 31, 32)."*

In King Edward VI.'s First Book, the original prayer-book of the Episcopal Church, London, 1549, "the Booke of the Common Prayer and administracion of the sacramentss and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche, after the use of the Churche of Englande," the final service, by which those were made one flesh, who previously had fulfilled the preliminary conditions of having their conjugal intentions read on "the several Sondayes or holy dayes in the service tyme," the priest commenced as follows:

"Dearely beloved frendes, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of his congregacion, to joyne together this man and this woman in holy matrimony, which is an honorable estate, instituted of God in Paradise, in the tyme of manne's innocencie, signifying unto us the misticall union that is betwixt Christ and his Churche, which holy estate Christ adourned and beautified with his presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galile, and is commended of Sainct Paule to be honorable among all men, and therefore is not by any to be enterprised nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfie men's carnall lustes and appetites like brute beastes that have no understandyng, but reverently, discretly, advisedly, soberly, and in the feare of God: duely considerynge the causes

* The Roman Catholic Mass-Book, says Hume, had been revised under the direction of Henry VIII. soon after the Reformation; "and little alteration was as yet made in it. Some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the Pope was erased."—*History of England*, vol. iii., p. 277.

for which matrimony was ordayned. One cause was the procreacion of children, to be brought up in the feare and nurture of the Lorde, and praise of God. Secondly, it was ordayned for a remedy against synne, and to avoyde fornicacion, that suche persones 'as be maried might live chastly in matrimony, and kepe themselves undefiled members of Christ's body.' Thirdly, for the mutual societie, helpe, and comforte, that the one ought to have of thother, both in prosperitie and adversitie, into the whiche holy estate these two persons present come nowe to be joyned. Therfore if any man can shewe any just cause why thei may not lawfully be joyned so together let him now speake, or els hereafter for ever hold his peace. * * * * *

"I require and charge you (as you wyll aunswere at the dreadfull daie of judgment, when the secretes of all hartes shall be disclosed), that if either of you do knowe any impediment, why ye may not be lawfully joyned together in matrimonie, that ye confesse it: for be ye well assured that so many as be coupled together otherwaies than God's worde doeth alowe, are not joyned by God, neither is their matrimonie lawfull."*

These preambles to the marriage service are sufficiently declarative of the theological conception of the nature and offices of matrimony, and afford a good illustration of the estimate placed upon the institution by the average churchmen of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In England it was placed under the care and protection of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The attempt to apply rational principles to its elucidation—to treat it in any other light than as of divine appointment, in the most direct and literal sense, was resisted as a heresy of the vilest sort, and brought down upon the head of the luckless innovator who presumed to doubt it the punishment of a felon. The virtue of the marital compact lay in the nurture and blessing bestowed by the church, and the sacerdotal benediction. "The necessity of the sacerdotal benediction has been familiarized by immemorial practice to the habits of Englishmen, and been enforced in the most ancient provisions of the law, distinguishing the contract from the ratification, and allowing an efficacy to one which it withheld from the other."† It was impossible, therefore, for

* Morgan's *Law of Marriage*, etc., vol. ii., p. 603. London, 1826.

† *Ib.*, p. 385.

the spiritual courts to look upon a marriage formed in disregard of its sacred provisions and authority with any degree of favor. Such wedlock was adulterous. The children of it were necessarily illegitimate. The thousands of dissenters, Jews, and others in England, who were unfortunate enough to have opinions of their own respecting the "excellent mystery," and the courage to put them in practice, found themselves speedily outlawed, and their innocent ones bastardized. The ring, the altar, and the priest, were the means which the church had declared necessary to a valid marriage; and long after the Reformation the defect of any one was fatal to the bond. The legalized service went so far into the details of forming the "mystical union" as to indicate the finger on which the wedding-ring must be put, namely, the fourth finger of the left hand, thus supporting the belief, which at an earlier day prevailed, that a vein ran from that finger directly to the heart! Parliament, instigated by the immoral practices of the clergy, imposed severe penalties upon any person in holy orders who should solemnize a marriage in contravention of the established rites. Even as late as George II., in 1754, that body took notice of the offence. By the Statute of 26 George II., ch. xxxiii., it was declared:

"1. To solemnize marriage in any other place besides a church or public chapel, wherein bans have been usually published, except by license from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and 2. To solemnize marriage in such church or chapel without the publication of bans or license obtained from proper authority; do both of them not only render the marriage void, but subjects the person solemnizing it to felony, punished by transportation for fourteen years; as by these former statutes he and his assistants were subject to a pecuniary forfeiture of one hundred pounds." *

The same act declared that a person who willfully makes a false registry of marriage, or forges a marriage license, or who assists in perpetrating these frauds upon the marriage contract, shall be guilty of "felony without benefit of clergy." "The public celebration in the church, and the invalidity of the private contract out of the church, were maintained

* *Blackstone's Works* (Cooley's), vol. iv., p. 162.

from the Reformation to the passage of the Marriage Act, in 1754, which makes no exemption but in favor of Jews and Quakers, and was not designed to contract any privilege previously possessed by Non-conformists."* That the marriage ceremony prescribed by the canons was the only valid and legal one, in the eye of the English law, is clear enough from the frequent contests which occurred between the Dissenters and the ecclesiastic courts. Moreover, under William and Anne, the necessity of the priestly intervention was expressly affirmed, and the custom, which before appears to have had no other authority in the new ecclesiastical establishment than common usage, was officially recognized as the law of the land.

Subsequently, the law was put to the test. Burn, in his *Ecclesiastical Law*, reports three cases, the second of which, that of Haydon and Gould, fully confirms the position assumed. "'Haydon and his wife were Sabbatarians, and had been married in a Sabbatarian congregation, by one of their ministers, using the ritual of the Church [of England] with the omission only of the ceremony of the ring. On the woman's death, Haydon, as her husband, took out letters of administration, to which her sister objected that they were never married. And, as it appeared that the minister who married them was a mere layman [not having been duly ordained according to the forms of the Established Church], and not in orders, the letters of administration granted to Haydon as the husband were revoked, and a new administration granted to the sister." † The question was appealed, but the decision was promptly confirmed.

The case of Middleton *vs.* Croft, also cited by Burn, affords a good illustration of the power and jurisdiction of canonical law. The plaintiffs had been, it appears, prosecuted by the spiritual court for marrying "without the canonical hours." They contested the jurisdiction of the court, plead-

* Morgan's *Law of Marriage*, etc., vol. ii., p. 385.

† *Ib.*, vol. i., pp. 153, 154.

ing the statute of William III., which only imposed a fine of ten pounds for the offence, but did not annul the marriage. The court, however, did not admit the plea, but decided that "both the jurisdictions do stand well together."* Both of these cases, it should be observed, occurred near the close of the seventeenth century, after the passage of the celebrated "Toleration Act," and a century and a half after the definitive adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the firm establishment of the "Established Church."

Nothing is more invulnerable against reformatory changes than an ecclesiasticism. The seasons come and go in ever-varying succession; the surface and form of the earth undergo ceaseless and orderly changes; all Nature gives evidence of being engaged in a grand system of progressive improvement; ecclesiastical systems alone resist such changes, and wait, like the rocks, for time to slowly disintegrate and break their force. More than a century ago, England's great jurist and commentator, Blackstone, declared marriage to be a civil contract. So it was, is now, and ever has been regarded, by the common law. But, at that time, and down to a period within a generation, the canonical law in England continued to exercise full control over the domestic compact, and to declare imperfect a marriage not solemnized by a person in orders, in accordance to the Revised Service of the *Book of Common Prayer!*

Since the Restoration, parliament has often been called upon to exercise clemency toward numerous classes of Dissenters and Non-conformists, and has frequently removed the canonical disabilities which marriage, in contempt of the prescribed service, had brought upon them and their descendants. It passed an act, after the Restoration, legalizing the civil marriages which occurred under an ordinance of Cromwell, making it a penal offence to use any other form of marriage ceremony than that prescribed by a justice of the peace.†

* Morgan's *Law of Marriage*, etc., vol. i., p. 155.

† "Under the ordinance of the Usurpation the liturgy was prescribed,

Again it interfered in behalf of the marital rights of the Irish in Ireland. And in 7 and 8 William III., that great muddle, the Toleration Act, the faults of which Macaulay regards its greatest virtues, was passed. No change was effected in the legal status of irregular marriages by that act. It seems to have been nothing more than the expression of a humane desire for religious toleration among the opposing sects. The civil marriage was still null and void. Not until the passage of the Marriage Act, in 1754, was relief afforded to any class of Dissenters from the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts; and this act exempted from the authority of the official marriage service only Quakers and Jews. The social status of the great body of Dissenters the act did not affect in the least. These were left to their fate, and their pleading petitions for relief against the intolerance of a hated sacerdotalism were in vain, and yet not wholly in vain, for no virtuous act is of non-effect in the social economy of Nature.

We have already referred to the statute 26 George II., regulating the contract and solemnization of marriage. Kent says: "The painful consequences of such a doctrine recommended a less severe discipline in respect to the parties themselves and their issue. The statute of 3 George IV. relaxed the rigor of the former statute in some particulars; but that statute was repealed by the 4 George IV., ch. lxxvi., which restored much of the former severity, and now forms, with some subsequent variations, the matrimonial law of England."* "But the subsequent statutes," continues the great commentator, "of 6 and 7 William IV., ch. lxxxv.; and ch. lxxxviii., 7 William IV.; and 1 Vict., ch. xxii.; and 3 and 4 Vict., ch. xcii., have so far modified these provisions as to allow marriages, not only by special license, by the surro-

the religious celebration of marriage was made a penal offence, and a legal character was given to marriages contracted before a justice of the peace, who was to declare the parties husband and wife; and it was ordained that such marriage should be good and effectual in law."—*Law of Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce*, vol. i., p. 144.

* Kent's *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 58.

gate's license, and by bans, but also by the superintendent registrar's certificate, without license, or by his certificate with license." * At the present time the doctrine of the common law prevails in England, as in most civilized countries, and marriage is regarded in the light of a purely civil contract, and may be effected by such forms, or without forms, as the parties to the bond prefer. "The consent of the parties may be declared before a magistrate, or simply before witnesses, or subsequently confessed or acknowledged, or the marriage may even be inferred from continual cohabitation, and reputation as husband and wife, except in cases of civil action for adultery, or in public prosecution for bigamy or adultery, when actual proof of the marriage is required." † In many of the States of the United States, any party assuming the relation of husband and wife, in the absence of legal prohibitions, constitutes a valid marriage for all purposes whatsoever, when such fact is susceptible of proof. In the State of New York, the fact has been definitively settled by the ruling of the municipal courts in numerous cases, and every vestige of the canon law on the subject may be truly said to have wholly disappeared.

The position of women and wives under the old ecclesiasticism, as well as under the new, was one of absolute dependence—on the father or guardian, if single, on the husband and master, if married. Such was their legal status under the old common law, whose provisions in this particular were only reaffirmed by the ecclesiastical law in respect to woman, but which greatly extended their influence in respect to wives. Woman was not expected to make her own contracts—to dispose of herself in marriage—nor own nor inherit *real* property; but in most other respects she was as free as the accident of sex would allow. It was far different, however, with the wife. Under the dominance of the canon law, she became, as in the old Roman law, a vassal—reduced to complete sub-

* Kent's *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 58.

† *Ib.*, p. 55.

jection to her *baron*, or lord. Her position was one of *coverture*, from which there was no release, except by the death of her lord or by act of parliament. If Nature had, unhappily, given her an individuality of her own, which in general she kindly withholds from the sex, it was merged into that of her husband. He became her head as completely as Christ is the head of the Church. He was expected to answer for her conduct during *coverture*. The wife was held personally responsible for three crimes, only: if she committed treason, murder, or adultery, she was to expiate the offence; if theft, arson, robbery, battery, etc., the husband suffered for her. To give an appearance of equity to this legal provision, the husband was expected to exercise personal restraint over the wife; lock her up, if refractory, or chastise her at his discretion. The personal authority of the husband over the wife in England, a century since, was in all respects similar, and as complete as that which he possessed over his children and apprentices, or as that of the master over his slave. The progress of conjugal sentiment among the upper classes has long since rendered the custom obsolete; but, among the lower ranks of society, the right is "still claimed and enforced in that country—" * England.

Moreover, the common law recognizes the right of the husband to all the property which the wife possesses, or of which she becomes possessed, "by her labor, service, or act, during *coverture*." † Nor can she again acquire the right to it, except

* Reeve's *Domestic Relations*, p. 141.

† "The husband, also, by the old law, might give his wife moderate correction. For, as he is to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement, in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children, for whom the master or parent is also liable, in some cases, to answer. But this power of correction was confined within reasonable bounds, and the husband was prohibited from using any violence to his wife, *aliter quam ad viveun, ex causa regiminis et castigationis uxoris suæ, licite et rationabiliter pertinet.*" But it is easier to prescribe a privilege of this kind than it is to enforce it. Discretion has a wide latitude, and must be left to the husband, who would be

by deed or settlement, and, in default of this, the property, at the husband's death, is vested "in his executors." * The great commonwealth of New York, to her honor be it said, has superseded the common law, and the superposed authority of the ecclesiastical in this particular, and established the perfect equality of the wife, without annulling the previous interests possessed by her in the husband's estate. A few other States in the American Union have likewise recognized the propriety of this act of justice toward women and wives. †

Again, the husband is entitled, in all "civilized" countries, to damages for any injury to his wife's person, by which he is deprived of her services and society, precisely as if he had been wronged in any other species of property. ‡ "If any man should carry away the wife of another man, it is a trespass for which a recovery of money damages may be had by the wronged husband," the same as if his ox or his ass had been stolen § or surreptitiously taken away from him.

But let us return to the more direct bearings of the subject. The causes which led to the ultimate release of marriage from the thraldom of ecclesiastical law may now be readily apprehended. The evils which the supremacy of that system of jurisprudence engendered worked its final abandonment and downfall. Human nature is greater than any system, institution, or law; and, while the tendency of these is to re-

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liable to lose that virtue, when angry, unless, indeed, he were truly a god.

Our author proceeds: "The civil law gave the husband the same or larger power over his wife, allowing him for some misdemeanors, *flagellis et fustibus acriter verberare uxorum;* for others, only *modicum castigationem adhebere.* But, with us, in the politer reign of Charles II., this power of correction began to be doubted, and a wife may now have security of the peace against her husband, or, in return, the husband against the wife. Yet the lower rank of people, who were always fond of the old common law, still claim and exert their ancient right, and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty, in case of any gross misbehavior."—Cooley's *Blackstone*, vol. i., p. 444.

* Reeve's *Domestic Relations*, p. 139.

† *Ib.*, p. 49. ‡ *Ib.*, pp. 138, 139. § *Ib.*, p. 189.

main fixed, changeless, the struggling ego in man impels him to initiate new forms, and to rise into new conditions, when the law of the old becomes useless and out of place.

England was always a hot-bed of heresy. In the seventeenth century, strange doctrines multiplied and spread there like contagion—new ideas seem to be indigenous to her climate. It is impossible to repress, by any means short of wholesale execution, the native tendency of the Anglo-Saxon mind to *dissent*. Soon after the Reformation, England had not only the Catholics, Quakers, Witches, and Jews, each with a religion peculiar to itself, to contend with, but later arose strong bodies of Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, etc.; and later, still, came a troublesome army of Unitarians. Each of these sects stoutly defended its peculiar faith, and all mutually abhorred an ecclesiasticism which compelled them to contract marriage, if at all, by a liturgy, which they, not wholly without reason, stigmatized as "indecent," "popish," and doctrinally untrue in many respects, and celebrated by the intervention of a minister, whom they could not but regard as a slight remove from a curate in papal orders.

Many of these dissenting sects did not object to the doctrine of the prescribed missal, so much as to the interposition of forms and ceremonies foreign to their own faith and preference. Some of them may have even regarded marriage, as the service stated, "a remedie for sinne." The most of them could take wives and husbands "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" but they preferred the intervention of a minister of their own respective order. Few among them were averse to the religious solemnization of the marital covenant, if their own religion and teachers were allowed to be the instrument of its administration. There was one religious body, however, among these dissenting sects, strong in numbers, and stronger in the knowledge of the principles of civil and religious freedom, and still stronger in courage to defend them, who did dissent from the creed embodied in the form of the marriage service of the Established Church. This body was the Unitarians.

The doctrines of the marriage service were not only abhorrent to the judgment of the Unitarian mind, but it was positively repugnant to his sense of propriety; it grated harshly on his finer sentiments; it insulted the object of his most exalted affection by the intimation of an ignoble use which she fulfilled in the divine compact. Marriage, and other acts "in the name of the Father," might be well enough, but to perform any act in the name and authority of a trinity of Gods, he could not submit to, except under the most solemn protest. To him the Trinity was a dogma—a theological monstrosity conceived in an age of credulity and born in an age of faith. If his conception of the nature, duty, and offices of the married state was not more Scriptural than his orthodox brethren, it certainly was not less elevated and refined; nor was it any more objectionable to unprejudiced minds for being more in accord with the rationalistic ideas and spirit of the time.

We have before us a copy of a protest presented to an officiating clergyman at the altar of the parish church, London, June 10, 1814, by a couple of Unitarians about to be married. After the preamble of the protest, the document proceeds to give the reasons why they protested against the marriage ceremony of the Established Church:

"Because it makes marriage a religious instead of a civil act; because parts of the ceremony are highly indelicate, and must, to every correctly constituted mind, be extremely offensive; because the man is required to worship the woman, though the founder of Christianity has declared that God is the only object for the Christian to worship; because it requires the recognition of the doctrine of the Trinity, than which nothing can be more oppressive to those who disbelieve, conscientiously, and after patient investigation, that doctrine, conceiving that the whole of revelation fully sanctions their joining the Apostle Paul in declaring that, 'To us there is but one God and one Mediator between God and men, them an Christ Jesus;' because, as Christians and Protestant dissenters, it is impossible we can allow of the interference of any human institution with matters which concern our faith and conscience; because, as knowing nothing of a priesthood in Christianity, the submission to a ceremony performed by a person in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, is painful and humiliating to our feelings; because as servants of Jesus we worship the one living and true God, his God and our God, his Father and our Father, and disbelieve and

abominate the doctrine of the Trinity, in whose name the marriage ceremony is performed.

"Signed, WILLIAM COATES, MARY ANN THOMPSON,
"Members of the Church of God, known by the name of Freethinking Christians." *

June 10, 1814.

The protest is an illustration of the spirit which animated the more respectable portion of the Dissenters—protests and petitions increased, indeed, in number and respectability with the advance of the centuries. They were ridiculed by some, and listened respectfully to by others. Many thought their grievances should be redressed; by far a larger number could not entertain plans of redress which compromised the honor and stability of the Athanasian creed. To give these dissenting "rabbles" the "right of marrying at their own meetings, and agreeably to their own forms," would be confessing to errors in the past, and seriously impair the confidence of communicants in the supremacy and stability of the Church of England. This would be the conclusion of every one whose mind was at all sensitive to logic, and it was a conclusion which deeply concerned the logic—we cannot say conscience—of all good churchmen, and dissuaded them from making concessions until a more convenient season.

The Anglican Church found herself now in a position similar to that which the Roman Catholic Church occupied at the Reformation. Her experience had been, from the first, that which all "establishments," religious or political, are compelled to endure while they can, and yield to when they must. In all these unhappy episodes in human history, we are reminded of the words of Milton: "Error supports custom, and custom countenances error; and these two, between them, would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of human life." †

The Established Church was no exception to the general

* Freethinking Christians' Qu. Reg., No. 111, p. 293. Morgan Law, etc., vol. ii., p. 557.

† Prose Works, vol. iii., p. 172, Bohn. London, 1848.

law by which all institutions rise and fall. When her foes were weak or few in number, she could suppress them without the trouble of argumentation. In her earlier days she had repressed with cruel zeal these protesting Dissenters; and, when her persecution became too severe to bear without positive ignominy, the victims emigrated to the continent, or sought new homes in the distant colonies. America received large numbers of these "Free-thinking Christians;" and to them she is largely indebted for her advanced principles of civil and religious freedom. Dr. Alexander states that, among the first acts of a colony of these persecuted Dissenters, that landed in New England early in the seventeenth century, was the establishment of civil marriage, or marriage by a civil magistrate." *

When, therefore, the number of the Non-conformists assumed such proportions as to contribute a respectable minority of English subjects, and to comprise among their warm adherents some of the best minds in the kingdom, it were neither possible to suppress them by legal disabilities nor to remain passive to their urgent demands for simple justice. These oppressed subjects looked to parliament for the redress of their grievances; nor did they look in vain. That body had been gradually undergoing progressive changes. It had been largely weeded of bishops and representative churchmen.†

* *History of Women*, vol. ii., p. 317.

† The place of the clergyman in society had been completely changed by the Reformation. Before that event, ecclesiastics had formed a majority in the house of lords, had, in wealth and splendor, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally held the highest civil offices. The lord treasurer was often a bishop. The lord chancellor was almost always so. The lord keeper of the privy seal and the master of the rolls were, ordinarily, churchmen. Churchmen transacted the most important diplomatic business. Indeed, almost all that large portion of the administration which rude and warlike nobles were incompetent to conduct was considered as especially belonging to divines. * * * Down to the middle of the reign of Henry VIII.; therefore, no line of life bore so inviting an aspect to ambitious and covetous nature as the priesthood."—Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 254.

The liberal element outside, through its influence on the elections, was perceptibly liberalizing the element on the inside. The statutes, consequently, gradually fell away from the support of the ecclesiastical pretensions of the church, and ultimately, as we have seen, passed enactments relieving the least of her subjects of marital prohibitions or restrictions other than those which were imposed by the time-honored principles and precepts of the common law.

Another cause which led to the decline of the power and prestige of ecclesiastical law in England, was the degradation of the clergy of the Established Church. The strength of an ecclesiasticism rests chiefly upon two factors: *First*, the people whom it legislates for and controls must be either grossly ignorant or corrupt; and, *second*, its representatives must be of blameless life, incorruptible, and above the shadow of an unhallowed suspicion. The *first* requirement was amply fulfilled at the Reformation; the *second* had not been seriously questioned during the reign of Henry VIII.; but, a generation later, its existence was, to say the least, less pronounced. Indeed, at the close of that century, its decadence was a matter of common notoriety. The ignorance, poverty, rapacity, and immoral practices of persons in holy orders, became the commonist scandal of the time. The clergy were so intent on fighting schisms that they neglected the more obvious purpose of their calling. "The ribaldry of Etherege and Wycherley," says Macaulay, "was, in the presence and under the special sanction of the head of the church, publicly recited by female lips in female ears, while the author of Pilgrim's Progress languished in a dungeon for the crime of proclaiming the Gospel to the poor."* There was no dearth of religion of the theologic sort. In fact, when society in England was the most corrupt and licentious, there was more religion to the square acre within her borders than in any other spot or country in Christendom. "It is an unquestionable and a most instructive fact," says Macaulay, in his felicitous way,

* *History of England*, chap. iii., p. 141.

"that the years during which the political power of the Anglican hierarchy was in the zenith, were precisely the years during which national virtue was at the lowest point."* Every act of parliament or decree of the Head of the Church was prefaced "by the grace of God," etc. Every measure, of whatever nature, whether it was for the punishment of the Puritans or the persecution of the despised Quakers and Jews; or of women and children, the fathers and husbands of whom had been engaged in insurrection; † or of recalcitrant Catholics and Presbyterians; or of the burning of witches and heretics; or of performing a wretched marriage service; all were done "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost!"

At this time the clergy had fallen from their high estate in the public estimation, and were "regarded as, on the whole, a plebeian class." Macaulay says that, "for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were menial servants." ‡ Many of them were reduced to beggary; and some of those who had benefices found them inadequate to a comfortable support, and were compelled to live in the houses of laymen, or seek some remunerative labor to make their ends meet, and keep the wolf from their door. Gentlemen of rank frequently kept them in their establishments to attend to the family worship, and to say grace at the table. Macaulay has given in brief a good sketch of the social position of the parish priest in the first half of the seventeenth century, in the third chapter of his History of England. "A young Levite —such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year; and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy

* *History of England*, ch. iii., p. 141.

† See account of the "Bloody Assizes" during the reign of James II. in fifth chapter Macaulay's *History of England*.

‡ *Ib.*, ch. iii., p. 154.

weather for shovel-boards, but might also save the expense of a gardener or of a groom. Sometimes," continues the historian, "the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach-horses. He cast up the farriers' bills. He walked ten miles with a message, or a parcel. If he was permitted to dine with the family, he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots; but, as soon as the tarts and cheese-cakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded."

The moral position of these poor parsons was correspondingly low. Their living was insufficient to maintain a wife and children in the style of the better-class tradesman or artisan; and, naturally enough, no lady of good living, and accustomed to good society, and who was at all ambitious to sustain the appearance of respectability, was likely to consent to share the humble lot of a country priest. "During several generations, accordingly," says Macaulay, "the relation between priests and handmaidens was a theme for endless jests; nor would it be easy to find, in the comedy of the seventeenth century, a single instance of a clergyman who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook."* Their associates were chiefly servant-girls and groomsmen, in back-kitchens and out-houses; and the most suitable companion for them was generally considered a waiting-maid "whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward." So early as Queen Elizabeth's time, scarcely half a century after the Reformation, the social position of servants and priests had become so closely identified that special orders were issued by that dignitary, as head of the church, "that no clergyman should presume to marry a servant-girl without the consent of her master or mistress."† His children were numerous, and his household proportionately beggarly. His boys, usually hard customers, went early to

* Macaulay's *History of England*, ch. iii.

† *Ib. Injunctions of* 1559. Bishop's *Sparrow's Collection.*

work at farm-labor or trades; his girls, to service. Such was the unenviable estate of a large majority of the English priesthood for more than two centuries and a half succeeding the Reformation—nearly the close of the eighteenth century. Nor is this the worst side of the picture.*

There was not wanting a legitimate cause for this painful degradation of the agents of a holy calling. Close observers of human society have often had reason to remark the connection which subsists between want and misery, destitution and crime. And Buckle has, perhaps, done more than any man of modern times to trace that connection. The clergy of the seventeenth century were, unhappily, no exception to this law of our social nature. Reduced to penury, from causes which they did not foresee, and were by no means responsible for, but which appear obvious enough at this distance, they fell an easy victim of opportunities which gave them a possible chance to fill their coffers. The emoluments of matrimony afforded them the readiest resource. And some of the reverend but needy gentry plied the art of match-making for the sake of the paltry marriage fee. The Fleet Street prison (London) and ale-houses were common resorts, at one time, of clergymen of the more needy sort, seeking business, of which, by the laws of England, they had a monopoly. Burn, in his history of the Parish Registry, has given some curious extracts from the *Grub Street Journal*, January, 1734–'35, which go to show the great disorders openly practised in the principal London streets by men whose object it was to effect compulsory marriages. In the same connection that author gives a curious account of "a clergyman, Dr. Gayman, who performed marriages at the Fleet from about 1709 to 1740." He also furnishes "some extraordinary extracts from the books kept by the Fleet clergyman," by which it appears

* See *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, vol. iii., for further evidence concerning the degradation of the clergy. Brodie's *History of the British Empire*, vol. i., p. 76, *et seq.*, has much to say about the poverty of the parsons, particularly of the country parsons, and their irregular mode of living, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

"that, when these exemplary gentlemen had an entry to make more than usually scandalous, they used to write it in 'Greek characters,' of which a comical instance is given at page 52" —at least, so says Buckle.*

It did not matter how degraded were the candidates for conjugal blessedness; if they produced the fee, the priest was ready to join them in "holy" matrimony. In many cases the bridegroom or the bride was sought after as an article of traffic, as Burn has shown, as one or the other of the twain was needed to complete the coveted pair. Nor was this all. Fellows in frocks frequently kept houses, to which gardens were attached, as a matrimonial resort, where the host in orders would not only get his official fee, but also the profit of the wedding repast and a night's lodging. Into these haunts of convenience, to use a mild phrase, parties were frequently inveigled for the purpose of making a match and extorting a service fee. It seems incredible, but there is good authority for the statement, that women were sometimes kidnapped by hired emissaries, and taken to these establishments, and forced to marry parties whom they had never met before. The scandal of these proceedings became so great in 1750, that parliament was compelled to interfere and loosen the restrictions upon the marriage rites, in order to correct these flagrant abuses. Thus originated the celebrated "Marriage Act" of 1754, of 26 George II., to which reference has been frequently made, and which, by its effect upon the matrimonial alliances of the Dissenters, who were wholly innocent of the irregularities complained of, did more than any single event in the eighteenth century to improve public sentiment and to remove the marital contract from the monopoly of persons in orders, and to establish it on a more purely civil basis.†

* *Vide Posthumous Works*, vol. ii., art. 803.

† "The sons and daughters," says Smollet, "of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections and inveigled into matches, big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united

These immoralities on the part of the priesthood could not but seriously weaken the influence of that order, and to break down the distinction which had been sedulously maintained by it by every device which the cunning of man could conceive between it and the rest of mankind. Sensible laymen were not slow to apprehend the conclusion to which the logic of these events so clearly pointed, and began to question the soundness of an ecclesiasticism whose influence upon virtue and morality was manifestly inferior to the philosophy of the derided and contemned Dissenter. In the long-run, practice is stronger than precept, virtue than doctrine, demonstration than dogma; and that system of religion, medicine, or jurisdiction, which is most fruitful of desirable results—of virtue and morality—is morally certain, sooner or later, to triumph over all competitors. This is the decree of common sense; and, in practice, common sense is but another phrase for common law, whose precepts are of universal application, and whose destiny is the triumph of universal justice.

The history of this struggle between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers in England, while it is more familiar to English-reading people, is by no means exceptional. United Germany is the scene of a hot contest between these powers to-day; but, in respect of the marriage relation, the civil power there long since triumphed. So, likewise, did it in

instantaneously by the ceremony of marriage in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this pernicious purpose, there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of all the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and, indeed, the very outcast of human society, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet prison to intercept customers; plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without license or question, in cellars, garrets, or ale-houses, to the scandal of religion and the disgrace of that order which they professed. The ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches opened to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could embitter the married state."—Smollet's *History of England*, vol. ii., pp. 442, 443.

France, though now nominally a Catholic republic. Austria has only recently restored the subverted precepts of the common law in respect of matrimony, and Spain, still more recently, despite the protest of Pius IX., the eagle-eyed watchman upon the throne of St. Peter. The history of this struggle is, therefore, peculiar to no nation or peoples, if we except the States of the United States, whose wise founders took early and effective precaution to give ascendency to the principles of civil and religious liberty. It has repeated, or is repeating, itself with singular unanimity in them all, and apparently with similar results. It requires no prophet's eye, therefore, to see that, sooner or later, the precepts of the common law must ultimately everywhere prevail.

Finally, in concluding this article, we cannot forbear to observe that which must, indeed, be apparent to every attentive reader, namely, that one's apprehension of the nature and uses of the marital relation is subject to developmental changes. In that respect, however, it is no exception in respect of other institutions. All institutions which grow out of the nature of man must change as he changes—must keep even pace with his unfolding nature, or they become a hinderance and not a help to him. Principles alone are steadfast, unchangeable.

The secularization of marriage is a long stride toward a just appreciation of its nature and requirements, and the development of its benefactions. The sacramental mystery which has so long hedged it in, and concealed the nature of its true offices in the economy of human life, is in process of being dispelled. Its fictions are dissolving in the light of the rational spirit. The lesson which we learn from its study is that it is not an institution *devised for* man; but, rather, that it is an institution which he devises for himself, and that its perfections or imperfections are based entirely on the degree of wisdom which he brings into requisition in forming the compact matrimonial.

Nothing is more apparent, nor susceptible of a clearer demonstration, than that true marriage rests upon conditions

formed by the relations which subsist between the parties to it, which they alone can command or create. These conditions, it is needless to say, comprehend mutual, moral, and intellectual fitness, which includes congeniality of sentiment and harmony of tastes, æsthetic, social, and religious. Similarity of temperaments is of less moment. It must be clear, then, that a conjugal union formed upon any other basis—in disregard of these fundamental conditions, neither civil nor ecclesiastical, while it may be respectable, indeed, and not, therefore, to be traduced or lightly regarded—necessarily fails of its highest and noblest uses to the parties to it, and to the State, and not unfrequently tends to engender disappointment, if not absolute wretchedness, to both, whether the relation be entered into under civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

However that may be, the evident indications of an improved and more elevated sentiment respecting marriage, and the social relations, are matters of profound interest and sincere gratulation. They augur well for the future of the human race upon the earth; and in these indications there is much to stimulate the flagging faith of desponding moralists. Unless they are deceptive, man is destined to emancipate himself from the slavery which fidelity to the letter of the law imposes upon him, and to walk forth in the freedom—not license—guaranteed him by its spirit and purpose—the restraining of vice, and the promotion of virtue. The institution of marriage has suffered in the past, and is suffering still, from the withering touch of a superstition. In that respect, however, its experience has been that not uncommon to the history of all institutions, civil or religious. In the development of man, the superstitious cycle is a natural, perhaps wise, surely an inevitable, phenomenon in his early career. The student of history need not necessarily interest himself in the idle speculations respecting the necessity therefor. That field of inquiry may be harmlessly left in the hands of the theologian and metaphysician, who delight so much to work it. His business is with phenomena, and induction based thereon. Fidelity to this method may enable him to

foresee events and to demonstrate their logical necessity; but he, singly, cannot prevent nor circumvent them, though he be, at the same time, himself both a voluntary and an involuntary agent in the phenomena. The greatest genius that ever awakened the enthusiasm or commanded the admiration of mortals, though he may have been a Shakespeare or a Confucius, a Plato or a Bacon, fulfilled no higher sphere, or dignified no truer or nobler method of life and duty.

ART. II.—1. *History of the United States.* BANCROFT, SPARKS, INGERSOLL.

2. *History of England.* MACAULAY, MARTINEAU.

3. *History of France.* MICHELET, MARTIN.

4. *History of Germany.* CARLISLE, MÜLLER.

As our Centennial approaches, and the public mind is called to our national affairs, it may not be unprofitable to glance over our history and gather what lessons we may from our experience of a hundred years. It will be remembered that, as our fathers set out with their somewhat doubtful experiment of a republic, it was generally predicted that they would fail, and that in a few years they would return, if not to the subjection of England, at least to the refuge of a monarchy. It was then highly problematical whether a republic was, under any circumstances, possible, and especially under the difficulties with which we had to contend—a great war on our hands disputing the existence of the nation itself, a great number of disconnected States with little community of interest, a wild region with almost no arts or industries, and a perpetual enemy of savages in our midst and on our borders.

It was doubtful whether, under such circumstances, a people could govern themselves, if, indeed, they could do

so at all. It was apprehended, in particular, that, as Republicans, we should be theoretical and visionary; that, with wild and impracticable ideals, we would not attempt the merely possible in government, or be content with any thing we might realize; and that, in consequence of this, we should be revolutionary and unstable, always changing for something unattainable. It was thought, too, that in the variety of our individual opinions, in which every man would think himself supreme, we should be irreconcilable as a whole, and unmanageable as a body politic; that, in our inexperience in government, and our impatience of moderation, the minority would not submit to the majority, or one department work harmoniously with another. In consequence of all this, it was thought that we should be beset with internal dissensions and insubordination, and be the prey of civil wars and anarchy, so that we would ultimately welcome a monarchy, or even a despotism, as a happy deliverance. In the absence of that peace which was thought to be the boon of an empire or strong personal government, it was believed, too, that there would be no adequate encouragement to industry; that, in the insecurity of person and property which would follow our failures, we would not try to become rich. Depending on spoils and political preferments instead of labor (as Republicans and Socialists were then thought to do), it was contended that we would, instead of developing our resources, idly try to get what is our neighbor's by political reform. In short, it was predicted that, instead of a great, prosperous career, we should not be able to maintain the status with which we set out.

Such was the prospect with which, in the eyes of the world, our fathers commenced their career a hundred years ago—a prospect which was shared also by many of our friends whose forebodings shadowed a dark future for us. For it must be remembered that, with the exception of a few visionary Frenchmen, who were on the eve of their great revolution, there were few anywhere who were not convinced of the impossibility of a republic, and that our own wisest statesmen thought our experiment of questionable expediency.

Now, in answer to all these forbidding prophecies and forebodings, as well as to the similarly unfavorable objections and criticisms of the present day, we adduce the facts of our history for the past hundred years. The record which we as a republic have made in this time is conclusive on this point, and full of significance to the statesman and historian.

And first, with regard to the apprehension that we should be beset with wars, and so be rendered incapable of realizing the advantages of peace, we observe that, during all this time—that is, in the first century of our existence—we have had but two foreign wars, one with England in 1812, and one with Mexico in 1845; this being the greatest example of protracted peace and comparative immunity from bloodshed known in all history. Not to compare it with the almost perpetual and interminable war-history of the ancient civilizations, or of the governments of the Middle Ages, which were founded and carried on in blood, or even with the ceaseless wars of modern Europe prior to our independence, in which, since the Reformation, all the states, from Sweden to Turkey, have been involved (sometimes for a period of thirty, and sometimes for a period of seven years), when peace was only an armistice, and new wars could not commence because old ones never ceased; not, we say, to compare our history with those times, when, certainly, it cannot be said that monarchies were a prevention of war, or that empires meant peace; but to confine ourselves to the last hundred years, and to the parallel courses of other nations with ours, we find that we, unexperienced as we were in government and diplomacy, and having, as we had, new principles to establish and illustrate, have given the noblest peace-example of them all. For, in this same period, while we have had but two wars, England has had eight foreign wars, besides her Indian, Persian, and China wars, France has had nine wars, Prussia six, Russia thirteen, Austria five, Spain four, and Italy five.

Comparing more at length our history with that of England in this respect, we find that, while we have been enjoying a hundred years of peace, broken only in 1812 and in 1845

with wars, which together aggregate but six years, England at the same time has had twenty-eight years of war. From 1778 to 1783 she had a war with France. From 1780 to 1783 a war with Spain. During the same time she had a war also with Holland. In 1793 she commenced the war of the Revolution, which lasted till 1802, or nine years, and in 1801 the war against the Confederation of the North, all of which wars were had before our peace was once broken. Then, in 1803, she began the war against Bonaparte, which lasted twelve years. From 1812 to 1815 she carried on a war with the United States, and from 1854 to 1856 she carried on the Crimean War with Russia. During the same period she has also had nine wars with India, two with China, and one with Persia. In short, while our first century has been a century of peace, England's, with which more than any other we are unfavorably compared, has been a century of war.

Comparing, again, our history with that of France, we find that, in the period in which we have had but two short wars, France has been almost perpetually at war, aggregating forty years out of the hundred. For, in this time, she engaged in 1778 in a war with England, rendering aid to the American colonies in their efforts for independence; in 1792 she entered the field against the allied powers of Europe, continuing the struggle for twenty-three years, till 1815. In 1793 she declared war against England; in 1812 she declared war also against Russia, and in 1813 against Austria, Russia, and Prussia. In 1854 she commenced, with England, the Crimean War against Russia; in 1857 she, with Sardinia, aided Victor Emanuel against Austria. In 1862 she fought with Mexico, to enthrone Maximilian, and in 1870 commenced her fatal war with Prussia. In short, while we have pursued a policy of peace, France has pursued one of glory and conquest, the result of which, compared with our prosperity, has been humiliation and defeat.

Comparing, in the next place, our history with that of Prussia, we find that the strongest of monarchies, while professing a traditional peace policy, has had three times the

number of wars that we have. In 1792 she commenced a war with France, which she carried on through the whole revolutionary period. In 1803 she renewed it, as a member of the Holy Alliance, and continued therein till the fall of Napoleon in 1815. In 1848 she assisted the duchies against Denmark, fighting till 1850. In 1866 she again fought against Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein War. In 1866 she commenced the war against Austria and the South-German states, and finally, in 1870, she entered into the Franco-Prussian War. On the whole, monarchical Prussia, as compared with republican America, has had a career of war, and established her monarchy in blood rather than in sweat.

Comparing, again, our history with that of Russia, we have a similar result. Instead of an almost uniform reign of peace, as in the United States, Russia has in this time had war as the rule, with only short intervals of peace. In 1795 she had war with Poland, entered into to complete the subjugation of that country. In 1784 she completed her war with Turkey, and her invasions of the Crimea, which were begun as far back as 1769. In 1796 she fought with Persia. In 1799 she took part against the French revolutionists. In 1805, and again in 1812, she took part against Napoleon. In 1809 she fought with the Turks; in 1826 with Persia again, as also in 1840. In 1849 she fought against Hungary; in 1853 against Turkey; and in 1854 against France and England in the Crimean War. In short, Russia's history, as compared with ours, shows that we are far less inclined to war than she, and that republicanism is more peaceful than absolute monarchy.

Comparing, in the next place, our history with that of Austria, we have a similar showing. Though more inclined to peace than most European countries, and although suffering frequent dishonor and loss of territory for the sake of peace, Austria has yet had a goodly number of wars. In 1805 she fought against France in the Holy Alliance, and, until the fall of Napoleon, was fighting in one form or another for her Italian possessions. In 1848 she had the memorable

war with Hungary and its allies. In 1849 she fought with Sardinia and France over her Italian interests. In 1864 she engaged with Prussia in the Schleswig-Holstein War against Denmark, and in 1866 she fought against Prussia and Italy in the disastrous war which decided her fate at Sadowa, and compelled her to withdraw from participation in German affairs.

Our history, when compared with that of Spain, shows a like result. For, in this time of comparative peace with us, Spain has had a comparative season of war. In 1796 she had a war with England; in 1807 she had war with France, as also in 1823; and in 1859 one with Morocco. In short, that most monarchical of countries, with unlimited loyalty to king and pope, knowing nothing but submission and obedience, has, besides her endless rebellions, had twice as many foreign wars as our independent and individualized Americans who have acknowledged no authority but themselves.

And, comparing finally our history with that of Italy, we have still the invariable result, peace in America and war abroad. For, in this time, Italy has engaged in the following wars: First, those growing out of the French Revolution, and the intervention of Napoleon in Italian affairs, which lasted till 1814; secondly, that of the Milanese and Venetians against Austria, in 1848, for their independence and supremacy; thirdly, the wars of independence between Piedmont and Austria, into which the rest of the Italians were largely drawn; and finally the wars of Garibaldi for the union of Italy, conducted against Austria and the pope. In short, Italy, as far as in this period it can be considered a nation or people in itself, has had a history of war, while most of its individual states have been separately at war, or drawn into the wars of their dependencies.

Such, therefore, is our record as compared with that of England, France, Prussia, Russia, Austria, Spain, and Italy, in regard to war. And yet these constitute all the great powers of Europe, so that the comparison is exhaustive, and can be said to be with the whole world. It is a record of

peace compared with seven records of war; so that, when compared with the other great countries, our showing, notwithstanding the patronizing forebodings of war which others indulged in at our beginning, is the best of all. As far, therefore, as eight examples of history running through a hundred years can prove any thing, they prove that a free republican government is more calculated to keep at peace than a monarchy, and in so far to keep the peace of the world and promote the happiness of mankind.

And here we may observe, in passing, that in both of our wars we have been successful; so that never yet, as a nation, have we been conquered. In the same period, however, all those other nations have been once or oftener conquered. England was overcome in the first war of the French revolution, as well as in the American war. France was finally overcome in the wars of the Empire, and again in the war with Prussia in 1870. Prussia was overcome in the first war of the Revolution. Russia was badly conquered in the Crimean War. Austria was conquered in her wars with Napoleon, with Italy, and with Prussia. Italy was conquered in the Napoleonic wars, and in the war with Austria, in 1864, until she was rescued by Prussia. And Spain was conquered in her war with Napoleon and her first-mentioned war with England. Now, all this comparison proves, not only that a republic is as good as any other government in keeping at peace, but also as good, if forced into war, in raising armies and fighting its battles.

So much for the matter of foreign wars, which constitute, in general, a great part of the faults and failures of governments, as well as of the misery of mankind; all of which have been so signally avoided by our republic.

We shall speak next of rebellions and civil wars. In this respect, in particular, it was thought, at the beginning of our career, that we, as a nation, would come to woe. It was thought, in the first place, that, as a republic, with all the people free, and alike entitled to rule, we should be more exposed and inclined to civil dissensions; and in the second

place that, without a monarchical government, we should not be able to quell our rebellions when they should arise, and so to preserve the internal peace with force.

In comparing ourselves with the other great powers, however, we find that our history in this respect is not only creditable but vastly better than theirs. For, during all this time, we have had but one great rebellion or civil war; while in the same time England has had two, France eight, Prussia two, Russia four, Austria six, Spain six, and Italy three.

To compare more minutely, we observe that, in our long reign of internal peace, broken only once in the year 1861, England has had her Irish rebellion in 1798, and her Sepoy rebellion in 1857. We do not here speak of our bloodless whisky rebellion in 1786, or of Shea's rebellion in 1793. We shall speak of these hereafter in comparing our insurrections and riots with those of Europe, just as we shall of the so-called rebellion against England of Robert Emmet and his followers in 1803, and of the Chartists at Newport in 1839.

In France, in the same period, there have been the rebellions and civil wars of 1789, together with the revolutions immediately following; the rebellion in La Vendée in 1793; the rebellions and revolutions of 1830 and 1848; the *coup d'état* and civil war in 1851; and, finally, the rebellion and commune in 1870.

In Prussia, in this time, there have been the rebellion of the Liberals in 1848, which extended throughout the whole continent of Europe, and engaged particularly the students of the universities, and, to some extent, the soldiers in the army, and also the war of 1866, which was largely with parts of its own present territory, as Hanover, Frankfort, etc.

In Russia, which was struggling with a rebellion in the Crimea at the commencement of our career, and which had just closed the great Cossack Rebellion, there have been, during our existence as a nation, the rebellions of the Poles in 1795 and 1830, and rebellions in her Asiatic provinces in 1840 and 1872, resulting in the severe Khiva campaigns.

In Austria there have been, in this period, rebellions

in Lombardy in 1797, resulting in the loss of that province to Austria; in Milan, Venice, and Sardinia, in 1848; in Vienna in the same year, when Prince Metternich took his flight, and the emperor soon after was compelled to fly; and, finally, in Hungary, under Kossuth, in 1848.

In Spain, at this time, there have been the uprising of the Asturias in 1808; the wars of the Revolution in 1820; of the movement of Don Carlos in 1834; of O'Donnell and Concha, in favor of Christina, in 1841; the revolutionary wars of 1843; the revolt of Cuba in 1851; the military insurrection under Espartero in 1854; the present war against Cuba, commenced in 1868, and the present Carlist war, which was commenced about the same time.

And, finally, in Italy, in this same period, there have been the wars following the French revolution, which have been largely civil; also the internal revolutions of 1848 and 1849, which resulted in the independence of several of the states; and the succeeding wars of Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel for the union of the Peninsula.

Thus, it will appear that, in all the great nations during the last hundred years, there have been more civil wars and rebellions than in ours, our republic making the best showing in the very respect in which it was predicted that we should fail altogether. As far, therefore, as the examples of all the great nations, taken for a hundred years, can prove any thing, they prove that a republic is less inclined to civil wars and rebellions than a monarchy. This ought to be enough to shut forever the mouths of those who object to republican institutions on the ground that they expose the people to lawlessness and civil strife.

We have, in this comparison, not included our wars with the Indians, or the wars of the other nations with their respective savages—the wars of England, for example, with the uncivilized tribes of Africa, Central Asia, Ashantee, etc.; those of France with the Arabs in Algiers; those of Russia with the northern Asiatic tribes; those of Spain with the South Americans and Mexicans, etc. There is nothing in

these wars of a civil, diplomatic, or international character, which could bear at all on the question now in discussion. It will be conceded, no doubt, that, having had in this respect as great a difficulty as any of the nations to deal with, we have solved it equally as well as they have solved their relations with the savages.

We shall speak next of insurrections, riots, and other uprisings and lawlessness of a smaller kind. In this respect our government will bear a favorable comparison with any or all of the others. We shall not attempt to enumerate all the various lawless uprisings, either of our own or of the other countries, as it would be an endless and tedious task without corresponding profit. We may observe, however, that about our only insurrections of any consequence have been the whisky rebellion, Shea's rebellion, the Kansas and Utah riots, John Brown's insurrection, the riot in New York to resist the draft, and the attack on the Orangemen in the same city. That is, in all our history we have had but seven insurrections of any consequence.

In the same time, however, the riots in other countries have been almost without number. Hardly a week passes but the Atlantic cable brings us news of a riot in some part of Europe. In Great Britain it is generally in the coal-mines, or at the great strikes among the mechanics, or else between the Orangemen and Catholics, or between the Fenians and royal police. In France and Spain the riots are generally of a political character, preceding elections and great events in the legislative assemblies. In Prussia they are generally socialistic, or on account of the price of beer or bread, of which there have been a great many. In Russia they are by Poles and Liberals, of whom great numbers have to be annually sent to Siberia; and in Italy they are either of a political or religious character, sometimes aiming at the independence of a state, and sometimes at a lawless restriction of some privilege to the pope or to the Church.

In all European countries riots are so numerous, and the tendency to them so great, that it has been found necessary to

maintain great armies to keep down the people, and also to support much larger bodies of police than with us. Many of the streets and public buildings are permanently guarded; the houses of the people are carefully watched and often searched; the people themselves are generally kept under a police surveillance by a system of registration or passports; and, in various other ways, precautions are taken against lawless uprisings, all because of this tendency to riot. In short, without specifying the cases here in particular, it will be in general admitted that riots in other countries have been more numerous during the last hundred years than in ours, and that we, instead of being exceptionally plagued with them, enjoy an exceptional immunity from them.

There is, therefore, no justification in our history of the adverse prophesies and forebodings, which were indulged in at the beginning of our career, about lawlessness and dissensions which, it was thought, would prove so numerous as to render our government impossible; but, on the other hand, our history, as compared with that of the others, shows, as far as the example of all the great nations for a hundred years can show, that a republic is no more inclined to riots and disorders than any other form of government, but, on the contrary, that it is less exposed to them.

We shall speak next of revolutions, or governmental overthrows. For it was predicted at the beginning of our career that we should be the prey of revolutionists, and that the republican government with which we began would not long endure, but be overthrown for others, and finally end in anarchy or a monarchy.

We find, however, that in all our history there has not only not been any revolution, but not any attempt at any. For even the great rebellion did not aim at an overthrow of our government, but only at the withdrawal of some of the States from the Union. Our government has stood not only unmoved, but even unattacked during all this time. In the same period, however, all the other great powers, except Great Britain and Russia, have been overthrown, and these only

barely escaped. For, in the last hundred years, France has had ten revolutions, Prussia one, Austria one, Spain fifteen, and Italy five.

To particularize, we say that, during our first century, we have not only not had one overthrow of our government, or of any one of our State governments, but we have made no radical change in our government. The same constitution, the same general basis of laws, the same free institutions all stand as they stood at the beginning. The changes that we have made have been only for the perfecting of our system. We have, if possible, become more republican than ever, or more perfectly a republic.

If in England there has not, in this time, been any revolution in the full sense of the term, there has been almost the same thing in the changes that have been forced on the government through the enemies of that government. There was, in 1801, a general reconstruction of the whole empire, by which Ireland was incorporated, and a new name given to the empire. The title of "King of France" was dropped by the British ruler, and his realm called "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." At the same time, a series of reformatory and liberalizing measures have been adopted by parliament, by which an almost entirely new character has been given to the empire. England has been peaceably revolutionized, even though she had not had any violent revolutions. This last remark will also apply in part to Russia. But, admitting that in the general sense there have been no revolutions in England and Russia during the last hundred years, we find them the only exceptions, and the only powers that can stand beside the United States as examples of governmental stability.

For, in Prussia, in this period, besides the revolutions which it has been compelled to undergo as part of Germany (in the several overthrows of the German Empire), of which we shall speak presently, her government was forcibly overthrown in 1848, when the present king, then regent, was compelled to fly for his life, and a new constitution was forced

by the revolutionists on the state, a circumstance similar to what occurred in nearly all the other states of the Continent, when Prague and Copenhagen and Munich and Athens were all besieged by their own citizens, and the kings of the two latter capitals compelled to abdicate.

In Austria, in this time, there has been besides the revolution overthrowing the king as the Emperor of Germany and compelling him to withdraw altogether his power from the German state, and besides the change by which the government was changed to that of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, there has been, in 1848, a similar overthrow of the government to that just described in Prussia. The capital was stormed, and the Emperor Ferdinand compelled to resign, and Francis Joseph was installed in his place with a new constitution and new dynastic principles.

In France, in this time, there have been in succession the Revolution of 1792 and the establishment of the republic; the overthrow in 1795 of the Directory and Council of Five Hundred and the establishment of the consulate; the overthrow of this in 1804 and the establishment of the empire; the overthrow of this in 1814 and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy; the restoration of the empire again in 1815; the restoration of the Bourbons the same year; the restoration and enthronement of Louis Philippe in 1830; the overthrow of the Orleanist dynasty and establishment of the republic in 1848; the overthrow of this and the re-establishment of the empire by Napoleon in 1853; and, finally, the overthrow of Napoleon and the establishment of the republic in 1870.

In Spain, in this time, there have been the following revolutions: In 1808 Charles IV. abdicated in favor of Ferdinand. The same year Joseph Bonaparte was made King of Spain; he was almost immediately ousted, and again restored. In 1814 his government was overthrown, and Ferdinand again restored. In 1820 a popular revolution was successful, which put a new constitution and a new cortes in power. In 1823 this cortes and constitution were overthrown, and there was a

return to despotism. In 1833, on the death of Ferdinand, the infanta Isabella seized the throne. In 1840 another revolution compelled the dissolution of the cortes, and the forming of a new ministry. In 1843 the regency of Espartero was overthrown by a revolution commencing at Barcelona. The same year there was a reaction against the new government, and Isabella, then thirteen years old, was declared of age and made queen. By a new insurrection Espartero next gets control and forms a new ministry under himself. Next, in 1868, we have Isabella expelled, and soon after Amadeus made king. Then, in 1872, the republic is declared, and finally, in 1874, Alfonso is made king.

And, finally, in Italy, in this time, which was largely under Austria at the beginning of our career, there have been the following revolutions: In 1798 the complexion of the government was changed entirely by the wars following the French revolution, the old Germanic-Italian Empire being destroyed entirely. In 1802 the Italian republic was formed, with Bonaparte for president. In 1805 this was made a kingdom under Bonaparte. In 1814 Austrian rule was re-established. Next, we have revolts and overthrows of particular states, until Garibaldi restores the unity of all Italy under Victor Emanuel.

Such is the history of the great nations in regard to revolutions; a history in general of overthrows and governmental insecurity. At the same time, we might add that all the small German and Italian states, and, in general, the smaller monarchies and principalities of whatever kind, have, in this period, been many times overthrown, or merged in larger states or empires, so that, in most cases, the thrones of Europe, even, have not stood the century through, much less the dynasties. The map of Europe has been all changed over and over again, and European history, instead of being fixed like the mountains, is changeable like the sea. While, therefore, our republic has stood like a house founded upon a rock, without being so much as shaken by the storms of surrounding wars and revolutions, the European monarchies have yielded to every popular wave, and been often swept away by the slightest

gusts. Surely the history of the last hundred years proves, as far as the example of all the nations for a hundred years can prove, that republics are no more exposed to revolutions than monarchies, but, on the contrary, are even more secure than they.

And here let us observe that, in all this period in which our republic has stood so securely and peacefully, all the great imperial confederacies or empires, which alone correspond in magnitude and difficulty of management with our union of States, have been overturned. For, after all, the comparison should be made, more properly, with those confederacies than with the single states. For ours is a nation of nations, embracing as many states as all of Europe put together, and bound up in one great union of the whole. We have not merely a nation and a nation's difficulties to deal with, but a cluster of nations, our republic embracing the most numerous and extensive alliance of states that has ever been known in history. And yet, while the little European confederacies could scarcely keep united long enough to effect the purposes of a campaign, and while, when they were united, they have been but short-lived and full of dissension, we have not only stood as a whole during all this time, preserving our great central republic in entirety and security, but have carried on, with equal success, and without internal or interstate difficulties or dangers, some thirty-seven independent republics. The great wheel and the wheels within the wheel have all been running without jars or breakage, and promise, for the next century, to run as smoothly as ever. We have done this, while all the similar confederacies of a monarchical character have been revolutionized or entirely destroyed. For, in this same period, the German Empire or confederation has been four times overthrown, the federacy of the Italian states likewise four times, and the Austrian Empire three times; and all the single states composing each of those empires have likewise been overthrown, most of them many times, in the last hundred years.

For the German Empire was broken up in 1804 by Napoleon, who formed in its stead the Confederation of the Rhine. Eleven years later this confederation was destroyed, and the German Federation formed. In 1866 this was again destroyed, and the North-German Confederation made to take its place. And, finally, in 1870, this was made to give way to the present German Empire. In the same period the Austrian Empire or its relations with the German Empire—a vital part of itself—was revolutionized in 1804, 1815, and 1866, as already explained; and the Italian federation of states, under whatever name, was overturned in 1802, 1805, 1814, and 1856, not to count the partial revolutions at other times.

Thus, a comparison of our federal success with that of the European confederacies proves, as far as the example of all the great confederations of the world for a hundred years can prove any thing, that a republican confederation can stand and preserve all its parts as well as a kingly one. The nearest approach to our federal success is that of the similar republican confederation of Switzerland.

In the next place, we may observe that in all this period of a hundred years there has been no change in our territory by conquest, division, or cession, except a constant increase. No foot of land has ever been wrested from us by force, none ever awarded by arbitration to another power against us, none ever sold by us from fear that it would be taken by an enemy, none ever parted with for any cause whatever. There has been no division of our territory by the withdrawal of any state or section, no disunion or releasing of our power in any degree over one acre of land. The land, and the government over it all, has been maintained, so that it is all and altogether ours. No part that has ever been in dispute have we yielded, and no power that we have ever claimed over neutral ground or the sea-coast have we given up. On the other hand, we have in this time added the immense tracts of Louisiana (including the greater part of the Mississippi Valley), Florida, Texas, New Mexico, California, and Alaska—as much, almost, as the entire territory of Europe.

In the same period of time, however, on the other hand, the territory of all the great European states, or their power over it, has been materially changed, nearly every nation, at one time or another, losing a material part of itself. Spain has lost Mexico and nearly all her South American and West India possessions. England, besides losing, at the beginning of this period, her American colonies, has lost her title and claim as King of France and all her pretensions to equibalance the Continent. France has lost, besides Hayti, her beautiful provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and her entire claim to the west bank of the Rhine. Prussia has lost all control over Denmark, and over Luxembourg, Bohemia, and the other German states now under Austria, which she formerly exercised as part of the German Empire. Russia has lost her claims on the South and East which she was compelled to forego in the Crimean War. Italy has lost (for most of this time) Savoy, Piedmont, Nice, and all right to a control in the German Empire; and Austria has lost not only its Italian possessions, but its supremacy and entire control in Germany.

In short, a comparison of our government in its acquisitions with those of Europe, which have had all these losses, and, at the same time, had no gains to compare at all with our enormous acquisitions above mentioned, proves, as far as a comparison of all the great powers of the civilized world can prove any thing, that a republic can preserve its territory and aggrandize itself quite as well as a monarchy.

On the whole, therefore, we think we can safely conclude, from this exhaustive and somewhat minute comparison of our nation with the other great nations in all that constitutes the general objects and evidences of good government, that we have, during our century of existence with our republican institutions, had peace, stability, and security, equal to any monarchy of Europe. Our people have, in general, felt just as safe in their lives and property, whether against their fellow-citizens or against an enemy, as any others in the world, and, except in a few instances, they have in every way had just as effective governmental protection.

We might close our article here, as having given already a sufficient answer to the inquiries so frequently made about the success of republics, and of ours in particular, and also to the prophesies and forebodings that were indulged in about our certain failure as our fathers set out a hundred years ago. But we shall add here, without attempting to elaborate or specify (which we hope to do at another time), that not only have we, under our republican government, enjoyed the negative advantages of peace and security equal to any other people, but we have also been enabled, under the same government, to develop our resources quite as well, and to advance the happiness of our people in as great a degree. Our agriculture has proceeded with such improvements in implements and success in method, that we are able, with less labor than any European country, to support ourselves, and, to an extent, to feed the whole world besides. Our mining operations have been the most extensive and successful on record, so that we are in a condition to largely supply Europe, at a cheaper rate than she can produce at home, with the more important minerals, such as coal, iron, petroleum, and gold. Our manufactures are fast coming to compete in nearly all departments (and not in a few only, as in France, Italy, and Germany respectively) with those of any part of the world; rivalling England in her specialty of hardware and cotton goods, Germany in woollen and earthenwares, France in wines and fineries, and Italy in silks and marbles. Our commerce is larger than that of any other nation except England, and embraces, as few others do, all the civilized and half-civilized peoples. In the fine arts we have made a proud beginning, having done more in architecture during the last century than any nation of Europe. In short, our success has been such that never in the course of a hundred years has there been so much done in any other country, or a nation which has grown so rich or great. Certainly, our industrial andc ommercial history proves that a monarchy is not necessary to develop a country well.

As for the apprehension so often expressed that, being

theoretical and impractical, as republicans are generally charged with being, we could not carry out our ideals, we are famed for being the most practical people in the world, and are distinctively known as "the practical nation." And as for the apprehension that, being republicans, and enthusiastically devoted to an idea, we would not care sufficiently for money and material interests, but only for politics and pettifoggery, we have the reputation in Europe of caring more for money than any other people; as also, we may add, of having more money.

Our people, moreover, are just as moral as any other, notwithstanding the old apprehensions that we would run to licentiousness, infidelity, and every thing that is tentative and revolutionary. We have more churches than any country in Europe, and the people take a greater interest in religion. In fact, it has often been remarked by foreigners, that we are the only religious nation in the world, and this, notwithstanding, we have no state religion or religious laws. The benevolence of our people, and their care for the poor and unfortunate, are quite as great as in any other land, and our benevolent institutions quite as numerous and well supported. Crime is no more common than in other lands, the greater part of our criminals being foreigners. In short, our history abundantly illustrates the fact that a republic, without any state church or army, or great body of police, can develop and maintain as moral a class of citizens as any other.

With regard to education, our people are, as a whole, more intelligent than any other. If Prussia has men more learned than we, we have a greater number of learned men. Our common-school system is quite as good as any in Europe, and is, perhaps, more calculated than any other to substantially elevate the whole people. Our colleges are more numerous than in any other country, and the number of students greater, and the best of them are fast taking rank in wealth and facilities for culture with the best European universities which have stood for centuries. The education of our women, in particular, is of a higher degree than that of

any other land; and, in general, there are not so many who cannot read and write, or who are ignorant of the common branches as in other countries. The North-German states alone are our rival in universal elementary education.

While, moreover, our institutions of whatever kind, and for whatever purpose, are in general of the best, showing that republican government is compatible with the best social and political appliances which have hitherto been known, we have also developed some new ones of special excellence, which were hitherto either unknown, or else existed as mere doubtful problems in the heads of impractical theorists. One of these is the separation of church and state, without detriment either to the state or to religion. Another is the absolute freedom of all religions and anti-religions without any deleterious effect on our customs or morals. Another is the complete secularization of the schools, with similar harmlessness to both religion and education. Another is dispensing with a standing army without exposing ourselves to either internal or external assaults. And another is the absolute equality of all men, including the abolition of ranks, titles, and privileges, without detriment to anybody. In short, our republic has, besides exemplifying the usual governmental virtues and services, also done the additional service to mankind of introducing some superior new institutions for the insuring of intellectual, religious, and personal freedom. There is now scarcely any degree of liberty or equality conceivable, even in the most extravagant ideas, that we have not embodied in our system, and proven to be henceforth possible.

And, finally, it may be observed, as a general result, that our people are, on the whole, as comfortable as any in the world, which is, after all, the most adequate test of a government's success. More of them are wealthy and living in fine houses with plenty to do and to eat than in any other country. They more generally marry and live in families than elsewhere, everybody having a home, and every family, as a general thing, a whole house to itself. The people are thrifty and hopeful, nearly every one expecting that himself or his children will one day be rich or great.

On the whole, therefore, we think that we can safely conclude that our history and our present condition abundantly prove the success of our government, and that the old prejudices and uncertainties as to the practicability of a republic may be set aside as forever exploded. It can no longer be said that republicanism has no experience in its favor. Side by side with the most successful monarchies that have ever existed, and in the most successful period of their existence, we have just seen its superiority by the most exact and minute tests that are possible. And now after one century, in which our free experiment has been such a transcendent success and in no respect proved a failure, we have as good a prospect for the next hundred years as any nation in the world.

ART. III.—1. *Système Nerveux.* Par M. VULPIAN. Paris. 1866.

2. *Leçons de Physiologie Expérimentale.* Par M. BERNARD. Paris. 1858.

3. *A Critical and Experimental Inquiry into the Relations subsisting between Nerve and Muscle.* By SIR CHARLES BELL.

4. *Expériences sur le Principe de la vie, notamment sur celui des Mouvemens du Cœur et sur le Siège de ce Principe.* Par M. LEGALLOIS. Paris. 1832.

5. *Experimental Inquiries Concerning the Functions of the Cerebral Centres.* By Professor FERRIER, of King's College, London. *Lancet* for 1875.

6. *Various Memoirs and Addresses.* By WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D. Before the New York Neurological Society.

7. *Physiology of the Nervous System.* By AUSTIN FLINT, JR., M. D. New York. 1874.

THE uses and abuses of vivisection, as an *agendum* in ascertaining the functions of the various centres of the nervous system, constitute a question so various in its aspects, and of

such material importance to science, as to render it difficult to discuss the subject within the limits that can be conveniently accorded in a quarterly review. And yet the attention that has been recently given in England to the best methods of eliminating the more cruel aspects of the practice furnishes a sufficient justification for calling the attention of the enlightened American public to its cisatlantic abuses, while, at the same time, taking some pains to show that, for the general purposes of physiological investigation, it is unnecessary to resort to experiments on living animals; and that, at least, a given point having been experimentally demonstrated and recorded, repetition of the demonstration before classes should be discontinued. For, granting all that the most enthusiastic defenders of vivisection claim—and they claim vastly more than the facts really warrant—it is certainly a waste of ingenuity to demonstrate, over and over again, that which has passed into the record as verified. Students who, from actual dissection, are thoroughly acquainted with the anatomy of the nervous system, can understand the bearing of a fact that has once been ascertained, as to the function of a given centre, as readily without as with ocular demonstration. And, in a general way, it may be stated, without danger of contradiction, that the excessive prominence given to such experiments of late years has tended materially to lessen the interest taken in dissection, and thus to render anatomical investigation less thorough and minute than it formerly was, particularly in medical colleges. To such an extent is this the case that physicians cannot, as a rule, be classed as thorough and practised anatomists, and thus the medical profession has lost in profundity what it has gained in actual experimental knowledge.

The excess in this direction that now prevails dates from the brilliant investigations of Magendie, Legallois, and Flourens, in France, and of Sir Charles Bell in England, whose important discoveries laid the foundation of a view as to the physiology of the nervous system that subsequent experiments have confirmed, but to which very little has been added, although nearly half a century has elapsed since Bell published his first

paper in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal. Herr Goltz,* a German vivisector of great ingenuity, and Dr. Brown-Séquard, have been successful in showing that the gray tissue of the spinal column is the seat of certain reflex actions; it has been demonstrated, also, in opposition to the views of Bell, Solly, Gall, Spurzheim, and others, that the gray tissue of the spinal column is the proper propagator of sensation.

It has, furthermore, been somewhat conclusively indicated, by the brilliant and original experiments of Dr. Ferrier, that the convolutions of the brain are distinct and separate centres of activity, and that, in the corresponding portions of non-convolute brains, are situated corresponding centres. For example, all voluntary movements originate in the convolutious of the anterior lobes of the cerebrum, and have the striated bodies as their ganglia, while the posterior ganglia are motor in their function only as respects the act of seeing, and move the lateral muscles concerned in turning to see. Still, behind the latter lie two nervous bodies, styled the *corpora quadrigemina*, being, as Gall believed, the true optic centres. Their connection with the cerebellum, by means of a band of fibres known as the valve of Vieussens, determines their influence on locomotion.

To illustrate this point in a comprehensive manner, when a man starts back to avoid contact with a suddenly presented impediment, the apparently instinctive act is due to the connection between the latter and the cerebellum; but when, having caught a passing glimpse of some object laterally situated, one turns to verify the half-formed impression by direct examination, the act is due to the function of the posterior ganglia. At the same time, the optic lobes having a connection with the gray matter of the spinal cord by means of their peduncles, two white cords which plunge through the *pons varolii* and enter into the structure of the vital centres, the sudden nausea

* The investigations of Herr Goltz are principally familiar to the English public through Huxley's description of them, before the British Association, in the summer of 1874. His great work, *Die Nerven-Centren*, has never been translated, but abounds in original investigations.

consequent upon seeing a repulsive object is the instinctive response of those centres to the act of vision; or, conversely, if the object is a beautiful one, the act of vision is accompanied by a more pleasurable class of movements, as by laughter, by smiling, or by a forward inclination of the body. In the lower vertebrate animals, where the posterior ganglia are absent, it may be observed that the optic lobes themselves are motor as respects vision; that is to say, are ganglia of motion as well as of sensation. This takes place in the pike.

The subject naturally presents itself under two aspects: First, as respects the cruelties necessarily inflicted on animals by experimentation, which will be conclusive to the popular mind; and second, as respects the question, whether its contributions to science have been such as in any manner to justify its continuance as an adjunct in physiological investigation. If it is justifiable at all, considering the revolting inhumanity which is one of its essential elements, its justification rests solely on the ground that, by contributing to our knowledge of the functions of the nervous system, it enables physicians to detect and identify different forms of nervous disorder with more certainty, and thus to save valuable lives; and if it can be conclusively shown that its contributions have not been material, it must be relegated to oblivion as one of the barbarisms of an age when, as by Descartes, an accomplished vivisector, animals were regarded as automata.

While it is alleged that the use of anæsthetic agents has been instrumental in greatly mitigating the cruelties of vivisection, it is, nevertheless, true that many experiments have to be conducted without those agents, in order to secure the proper results. In passing a ligature round the neck of the gall-bladder of a dog, for example, the animal may be rendered insensible during the operation; but, in order that the symptoms may be noted, it is necessary that it should be kept alive for days without any mitigation of the torture. In like manner, in experiments on the secretive processes, it is always essential that the animal should recover from the stupor, and suffer for a longer or shorter period, or the experiment is valueless. In

order to comprehend the revolting nature of some of these experiments, the reader must imagine a dog strapped down to an experimenting table, by passing several straps around his body. The hind-legs having been drawn back and apart are strapped down tightly, the fore-legs are treated in the same manner. A strap is then passed firmly over the hips, another over the fore-shoulders, a third over the nose, so that it is impossible for the poor creature to utter a cry of pain. For some classes of experiments the bare preparation is thus attended with a torture to the animal that no scientific jargon about nervous centres can palliate.

All this having been done, incision after incision follows, the animal being so strapped down as to be even incapable of shrinking under the scalpel, while perceptible convulsions follow each other in rapid succession through the strapped limbs, and low, stifled moans attest the agony of the operation. Even when overpowered with anæsthetics, so that there is no reflex action of the nerves when the cornea of the eye is menaced with destruction, it is not infrequent that spasms follow the stroke of the knife, and that the animal trembles visibly at each incision, while, in experiments on animals in the normal state, *tears* of torture and terror are often perceptible. Nor is removal of the brain always, and unquestionably, accompanied with a cessation of the agony. Goltz argues very strongly, from experiments with frogs, that these animals are capable of intelligent muscular movements after deprivation of the cerebral hemispheres. They will not only swim on being thrown into the water, but will even get out of it after the brain has been removed. Vulpian is of the same opinion; and it may be concluded, in a general way, that in many of the lower animals the spinal cord is one of the seats of sensibility. If, for instance, the ear of a rat is compressed with the forceps after removal of the cerebrum, it utters such piercing cries as are readily identifiable as the exponents of sharp agony, and not as results of mere automatic reflex action. Indeed, it may be stated as a general rule that, so long as the central mass at the base of the brain (*tuber*

annulare) and the vital centres are left, the lower animals under experiment are perfectly capable of feeling pain and of appreciating its intensity, and also of voluntary movements. The case is not so well settled as to the higher vertebrates, but it admits of no well-founded dissent.

In experiments on the vital centres, again, unless the animal is instantly killed, convulsions at once supervene. The general method of demonstrating that the oblong continuation of the spinal column, as it enters the skull, presides over respiration, is first to remove the brain, section by section, without impairing the function, and this must be done when the animal is in a normal condition. This part of the experiment amounts to negative evidence only. Taking a fresh dog and securely strapping it down, the experimenter grasps the head firmly, flexes it forcibly on the neck, and penetrates the skull with a stylet between the atlas and the skull. Then, by a quick lateral movement of the instrument, the nervous matter is broken up, and the dog ceases to breathe. The experiment is conducted in this manner at Bellevue, and death may supervene instantly in the hands of an expert. On the other hand, if it is bunglingly managed, the animal lingers in struggles and spasms. Brown-Séquard says that respiration may be again established after the vital point has been punctured, and that, consequently, the death, when it occurs under the operation, results from the shock and irritation; and Schiff has noted minutely that dogs live for a certain period after injury to the so-called vital point, which, after all, is not yet demonstrated to be vital. Again, in opening the abdomen to observe the respiratory movements of the diaphragm, it is impracticable to use mitigating agents, and the animal must be strapped down on its back in such a manner as to preclude writhing and other movements, and to hold it firmly during the period of observation. Any person who has once witnessed one of these experiments will appreciate the cruelty of the operation without superfluous description; and one who has not can imagine the contortions and cries better than any pen can describe them. Nothing more pro-

longed and plaintive can be dreamed of under the influence of confirmed indigestion than the cries of a rat, after removal of the hemispheres, when the ear is sharply grasped with the forceps.

In like manner, the standard demonstration as to the function of the optic lobes, usually conducted with pigeons, is equally reprehensible, though very simple. A portion of the skull is first removed, so as to uncover one of the hemispheres, when the optic lobe is seen, as a large, white tubercle, between the posterior portion of the cerebrum and the anterior quarter of the cerebellum. Making a slit in its capsule, the operator breaks up the tubercle with forceps. On recovery from the shock, it is found that the bird is blind of one eye. In experiments on the cerebellum, the general practice is, having strapped down the animal, to slit up the scalp and remove the posterior portion of the skull, just above the upper insertion of the muscles of the neck, leaving a strip of bone down the middle so as to prevent hemorrhage.

This, however, is not essential. The cerebellum may then be removed by slicing, or broken up with forceps, when the irregular movements may be noted in detail as very similar to those of intoxication. The animal must be in a perfectly normal condition, in order that the symptoms may be noted as proceeding from the vivisection, not from disturbances produced by other agencies. The symptoms are, it may be stated, very vertiginous in all their aspects—indeed, so highly so as to bring up the question whether they are not secondary rather than primary results. It often happens, also, that the animal recovers its regularity of movement after excision of a considerable portion of the cerebellum; but that the organ has considerable influence on muscular co-ordination there can be no serious doubt. As will be presently observed, this view is sustained by anatomical inference, and might have been established independently of experimental data. In fishes, the voluntary movements are not always wholly destroyed by extirpation of this centre, because of a distribution of nervous fibres from the facial ganglia to the lateral muscles of the body; and

in the anatomy of the frog an analogous fact of nervous distribution presents itself; while in the higher animals the destruction of voluntary movement is pretty general; so general as to be nearly conclusive that it regulates voluntary motions, although it may not originate them. This point will, however, be discussed more at length presently, in connection with the more strictly scientific aspect of the subject.

Considering the cruelties of vivisection as only modified in a few instances by anæsthetic agents, which cannot be satisfactorily employed in many standard experiments, the question naturally comes up, whether the practice is of such value to science as to warrant its perpetuation. Our own view may be stated unreservedly as the negative one; but, as a question of this kind cannot be settled without going into detail, the reader will, perhaps, pardon our doing so in an issue of such material importance. From the movements that occur under the influence of anæsthesia in surgical operations, it is very certain that the phenomena occurring under vivisection, even when this agency is employed, very frequently result from general sympathy of the torpid nervous system with the lesion of a particular part of the animal economy. In the normal state of the animal, this source of uncertainty is so material, that perfect reliance cannot be placed on many of the standard experiments. It is not certain, for example, whether, in puncture of the vital point, death supervenes as the result of the lesion directly, or as the result of the irritation or shock; and, in many other instances, a similar uncertainty prevails among the most expert experimentalists, as is illustrated in the many contradictory statements of the highest authorities.

The experiments of Fritsch and Hitzig, who, on exposing the cerebral hemispheres in dogs, found that certain parts of the anterior portions responded to a feeble galvanic current, producing movements restricted to special sets of muscles, have, for illustration, been disputed by the celebrated Longet, who states that he has applied the current to the brains of goats with purely negative results. Dr. Flint, also, states that experiments on pigeons develop no such movements. It is

true that very slight hemorrhage, comparatively speaking, impairs the function of the brain, and it is very likely that superior delicacy in conducting the experiments may have insured the success that Fritsch and Hitzig record. The experiments of Dr. Ferrier, by far the most brilliant and successful that have been recorded on this point, indicate, indeed, that the German investigators were not at fault in their statements as to the existence of separate centres of motion in the anterior portion of the brain; and, as they are of the highest importance to psychological as well as to medical science, no apology is due for introducing them as the first of a series of descriptions, intended, by comparing the results of experiment with those of anatomical study, to show that the former process has added little of material value to a sound science of physiology. Here, if anywhere, it must vindicate its reason for being, and our estimate of it shall be taken on the ground most insisted upon by its advocates. Dr. Ferrier's experiments were attended with little pain to the animal, which was invariably placed under very complete anæsthesia before commencing operations.

Having attended to this preliminary, the whole superior portion of the cranium is removed, also the dura mater or external tunic of the brain, and the Faradaic current is applied to one quarter after another with an ordinary electrode. The one condition to be observed is, that the anæsthesia shall be so complete, and maintained with such regularity and exactness, that the muscular phenomena consequent upon the electrical stimulant may be recorded as unquestionably due to the action of the current, and to that only; in other words, so complete and regular that none of the resultant muscular movements can be classed as convulsions consequent upon the general disturbances that follow lesion in a vital quarter. It is a noticeable fact, in reviewing these experiments, however, that they have added comparatively little, except in the form of experimental verification, to the views deduced by Gall and Spurzheim from the intimate structure of the brain itself. This coincidence of experimental inquiry with anatomical in-

ference leads directly to the point that constitutes, in our opinion, one of the principal scientific arguments against the practice of vivisection, namely, that, as a general rule, anatomical inference is equally conclusive as to function, and that, where vivisection and anatomy are in opposition, as they have been occasionally during the last fifty years, it generally occurs that more delicately-conducted experiments finally verify the anatomical inference.

To take another pertinent example: It was long in dispute whether the spinal cord is capable of reflex action, that is to say, of transforming a sensation into motion. To speak in more concrete terms, the question was unsettled whether the movements of the leg that follow tickling the sole of the foot very lightly were consequent upon reflex action of the cord, or upon reflex action of the cerebral centres in which the sensation is correlated as consciousness. Various phenomena, such as the fact that, under tolerably complete anæsthesia, and without any consciousness of doing so, the patient generally responds to tickling with the same movements that ordinarily occur, tended to render an affirmative answer to this question necessary; while, on the other hand, the traditions of nervous physiology were in opposition to that view of the case, which has but recently been demonstrated by conclusive experiments at the hands of Galtz and Dr. Brown-Séquard, although it has long been held by thoughtful physiologists as probable. The former, having removed the brain of a frog, was successful in causing the animal to croak by stroking its back with the tip of the finger; and not only this, but any number of croaks could be produced in succession, croak for stroke, by repeating the process, so that no question was left as to the fact that the sensation consequent upon the contact was actually transformed into muscular movements of a very complex class. After such mutilation, also, on being placed in the water very gently, the animal commenced to swim with its usual facility, and ceased the movements when it was removed from its native element, and placed on the table; thus indicating clearly that the very complex, associated

movements of swimming were the exponents of a sensation received in the spinal cord, and there transformed into motion.

It is even experimentally demonstrated that the gray matter of the cord is susceptible of a certain degree of education. Having procured a couple of kittens, one of our younger experimentalists made a pet of one of them for several months, leaving the other to run wild, while its fellow was taught to purr when its back was stroked. After such an education, continued for a sufficient period to establish the habit of purring in answer to caresses, the experimentalist subjected both animals to the same treatment, removing the brain-pan and excising the cerebral lobes, including the striated bodies and the posterior ganglia, and thus extinguishing all capability of voluntary motion. When, however, after recovery from the anæsthetic, the educated animal was gently stroked along the back, it responded with the habitual purr, while the uneducated one was insensible to the caress. It is very evident, therefore, that the tissues of the cord are competent not only to produce the more general instinctive movements, but also to acquire new combinations of sensation and motion, and to execute them irrespective of the conscious operations of the brain.

In adducing these experiments it was, however, our intention simply to compare them with recent anatomical investigations, and to indicate the fact that the controversy might have been settled in that way, without resorting to vivisection. If the reader will trouble himself to make a thin, transverse section of the spinal cord at the roots of any pair of spinal nerves, and, having prepared it properly, to digest it in oil of turpentine until it is tolerably transparent, he will be able to trace out, filament by filament, the anatomical arrangement upon which reflex spinal action depends, and to observe the filaments of the posterior or sensory roots entering the gray matter at its posterior horns, while filaments from the anterior roots enter at the anterior horns.

A very intricate intertexture of these two classes of filaments, both with each other and with the nerve-

cells of the interior of the cord, reveals itself when the section, considerably magnified, is moved to and fro under the microscope,* the whole constituting a proper nerve-centre, and the spinal cord consisting of a series of such centres, each capable of reflex action and of instinctive movements appropriate to its situation. It is evident, therefore, that, had students of nervous physiology set about to solve the question by anatomical investigation, in place of the multiplied experiments that have been recorded within the last twenty years, the same result would have followed from anatomical inference; and it is equally evident, from perusal of the current literature of science, that thorough anatomical investigation has been comparatively neglected in the general prevalence, since Bell and Magendie recorded their results of the mania for vivisection. In a similar manner, as to the function of the *pons varolii*, or of the medulla oblongata, anatomical inference has simply been verified—if pathological phenomena, such as those resulting from mutilation, can be regarded as in the nature of verifications—by experiments, as to which it cannot be candidly stated that they have materially contributed to the formation of definite and well-grounded views concerning the physiology of these centres. It should be stated, however, that there are material anatomical differences between the anterior and posterior roots of the spinal nerves, as to the manner of their communication with the brain, the former penetrating the gray matter directly, and immediately connecting with large multipolar cells, which give origin to fibres that ascend to the brain as portions of the anterior white cords, while, as to the latter, some of the fibres pass into the posterior gray horns, some ascend directly as elements of the posterior

* Stricker's *Manual of Histology*. Dr. Beale has, also, pictured very excellent sections in his recent volume entitled *How to Work with the Microscope;* but the most exhaustive and exact data for definite views of the histology of the cord have been recorded by Deiters, who is one of the contributors to Stricker's *Manual*. Dr. Luys has, it is true, published some positive statements, accompanied with diagrams of a very idealizing cast, but his views have so little weight that they need not be discussed.

white cords, and some obviously descend and communicate with the great enlargement of the gray matter at the lower extremity of the column. Finally, a careful following of the course and distribution of the filaments in transparent section of the spinal cord of a dog in our possession, and a tracing of the prolongations of the nerve-cells very conclusively indicate that the vivisectors are correct in the statement that there is a general decussation having its seat in the gray matter. Dr. Lionel S. Beale's anatomical studies of the cord,* indeed, conclusively establish this point, irrespective of any evidence of our own; and it may, therefore, from his sections, be regarded as a settled point, that experiment has developed no facts as to the functions of the spinal column, which might not long since have been gathered by thorough anatomical work.

To take another pertinent example, careful collation of the facts of comparative anatomy furnishes evidence as conclusive as Ferrier's experiments that, although in the relatively greater condensation of the brains of the higher vertebrates, they appear to form portions of the lateral ventricles simply, each *pes hippocampi* is properly a nervous centre. In the brains of very young rodents, such as mice, rabbits, and squirrels, these bodies may be readily identified as distinct organs in which the respective ends of the anterior commissure of the cerebrum terminate. At certain stages of fœtal development they may also be traced as centres in the brains of the higher vertebrates and in the human brain; and thus Dr. Ferrier has merely verified by experiment that which might have been inferred from the dissection of cadavers, had the brains been sufficiently well prepared to admit of a thorough unfolding of structure, by pickling in acetic acid and alcohol, or even in alcoholic solution of nitric acid. The function of these bodies, with which the olfactory bulbs are connected by small, white cords or peduncles, is determined by their anatomical relations, but the strongest fact of all is that, taken in connection with the anterior commissure, they

* Beale's *Microscope in Clinical Medicine.*

reproduce the brain of the insect as a part of the fundamental structure of the vertebrate nervous system, a point that may be of interest to Darwinists, but is too remote from the present discussion to allow of more than mention. To dismiss the topic, if anatomical homologies may be extended so far as to include the nervous system of the oyster and that of the man in one comprehensive generalization, the speculation of the earlier anatomists, that compared the lateral ganglia of the mollusk with the Gasserian ganglia of the human brain, was an error,* and the proper homologies of the former are sought, if anywhere, in the vertebrate brain, in two nervous bodies scarcely identifiable as centres in the adult cerebrum of the rodent, and altogether unidentifiable in that of the man.

To take a third example, and one worth specializing, it has been indicated by various experiments that the lumbar enlargement of the cord is a distinct centre, or group of centres, although it can scarcely be said to have been demonstrated. Here, again, anatomical inference was competent to settle the question, irrespective of vivisection. For example, in the fœtal development of the human nervous system the gray tissue of the spinal cord commences in two main centres, the superior and the lumbar, that is to say, in the region of the medulla oblongata and in the inferior or lumbar region. At birth, the gray tissue occasionally predominates above and below, to the complete exclusion of the middle region, although usually a trace is visible along the whole interior length of the spinal medulla. The superior gray tissue then gradually pushes downward centrally, while the lumbar centre pushes upward, the two elongations at last meeting and coalescing into what appears to be one great excitor centre, when superficially examined, but which on due examination proves to be two centres. During life, some of the fibres of the posterior roots ascend toward the one, while others descend toward the other; but it is only by possession of this leading fact of nervous development that the student of

* *The Science of Life.* By Sylvester Graham. This question has, also, been very fully discussed by German anatomists.

physiology is enabled to verify the probabilities established by experiment. Here, also, he is enabled to lift physiology out of the purely empirical, and to grasp, as a philosophical conception, one of the fundamental laws of organism, namely, that, in tracing the progressive development of animal life from the simplicity of the zoöphyta to the complexity of structure that appears in the vertebrates, there is constant progress in the degree of differentiation into cephalic, thoracic, and abdominal sections—the first especially concerned in perception and volition, the second in vital movements, and the third in the various phenomena of reproduction; a man, like a bug or a fly, consisting of three sections that may be designated in their order as the cerebral, the vital, and the reproductive. In this special respect the law is invariable that the relative complexity and advance in development of one organism over another are in proportion to the distinctness with which these sections are differentiated. In savage, as compared with cultivated races, it is a universal fact that, as culture progresses, the circumference diminishes at the neck and waist; in other words, that civilization is accompanied by progressive distinctness in the division of the organism into sections. Leaving other considerations out of the question, and attending to the progressive development of the nervous system, in tracing down the orders of the animal kingdom* from man to the oyster, one nervous centre after another is gradually extinguished, until, in the latter, a very primitive arrangement of three nervous bodies is obtained, the oyster having two anterior, perceptive ganglia connected with nervous cords, and forming a collar around the entrance to the nutritive canal, from which two cords run back and terminate in a vital ganglion that sends nerves to the respiratory and nutritive organs. If, now, the anatomist will take the trouble to

* The most elaborate *phylum* of the development of the animal kingdom, which the literature of the evolution theory has yet produced, will be found in Professor Ernst Hæckel's *Anthropogenie*. A very excellent condensation of the German professor's *phylum* will be found in Parker's *Manual of Comparative Anatomy*.

follow the development from mollusks to zoöphyta, he may note the gradual disappearance of the vital ganglion, until the primitive nervous collar embracing the throat is all that remains of the complex nervous structure of the higher vertebrates, and there is scarcely any distinction into sections, save that some animalcules, although the microscope can detect no difference in structure between one point and another, always travel with a special portion of the body foremost, and, however they may turn and twist, and elongate and contract, definitely turn round when they are about to retrace or to alter their direction, clearly indicating a primitive but unexplainable tendency of regarding one point rather than any other as the head, if that term may be applied to a globule of what the Germans style primitive slime. But no structural exponent of this tendency can be detected by the most powerful instruments, assisted by the polarizing prism, although, even in its lowest stages, the larva of the insect may be distinguished into cephalic section and a contingent remainder by the greater transparency of the former, and that almost at the beginning, long before the constriction at the neck converts the embryo animal into a minute bottle. The several points that these facts establish by anatomical inference are the following: First, that the human nervous system consists, largely speaking, of three great general centres, one for perception and voluntary motion, one for vital movements, and one for the reproductive processes, but the inference is, that the enlargement of the cord at the lower end, and not the cerebellum, is the proper centre of the latter; second, that the primitive function of nervous tissue is perception and reflex action, as when animals with simply a nervous collar embracing the gullet discriminate between nutritive and other particles, and swallow the one and reject the other by expelling it from the mouth; and third, that all the various and complex functions of nervous tissue in the human body have successively arisen from this one primordial function through a specializing process.

The preceding paragraph seems to lead very far from the

question under consideration, but, in reality, it is essential to a fair understanding of the subject that some of its remoter and more general relations should be pointed out; for, if our physiology of the nervous system is ever to be lifted above the level of a *rudis indigestacque moles* of empirical observations and statements, and to furnish a proper basis for scientific psychology, our professors must adopt a more philosophical method, and connect their statements into coherent series. It should be stated, as to the investigations of Sir Charles Bell, which gave birth to the modern impulse for experimental verification, that he did not underestimate the value of anatomical inference, and was strictly guided by anatomical analogies. Hence the brilliancy of his results and the success of his experiments, which are in such marked contrast with the apparent aimlessness, as if valuable data were to be obtained by indiscriminate mutilation, with which many of his modern disciples—mere empirics—have conducted their investigations, and have sought to compensate for lack of that profound anatomical culture, which was the starting-point of the master, by cutting at random, and recording the random and often contradictory results that follow.

Of course, it is not our intention, in the foregoing strictures, to depreciate the value to science of the investigations of such men as Brown-Séquard and Dalton in America, Vulpian and others in France, and Huxley and Ferrier in England; but, on the other hand, to reprobate the habit, that is now gaining ground among incompetent anatomists, of making experiments and publishing the results, apparently for the mere sake of seeing their names printed in scientific journals, and in the scientific notes of popular periodicals. It is, perhaps, true that, in the hands of a judicious vivisector, experiments may be made to contribute very materially, mainly in the way of verifying anatomical inference, to the higher problems of physiology. The true method here, if such practices are to be employed at all, seems to be to employ them as adjuncts to inference from anatomical work, and not to rely upon them as primary sources of information, since the existing method and the

readiness with which inconsiderate experiments may be carried on have tended to establish too high a degree of reliance on the convulsive, secretive, thermal, and other morbid phenomena that accompany them.

For example, the sensory decussation of the spinal cord rests upon the following experimental data: First, that to cleave the cord in twain down the middle produces complete sensory paralysis of all parts of the body supplied by nerves springing from any point below the section, a fact of which Galen was aware, but which is due, in its modern aspects, to Brown-Séquard; and second, that transverse section of one lateral half of the cord abolishes sensibility below the section in the other half of the body, a point developed by Brown-Séquard in 1849, although unpublished until 1852. Now, while it is true that the minute anatomy of the cord had not been sufficiently investigated when, in 1849, Brown-Séquard repeated the experiments of Galen and Fodera by longitudinal division along the middle fissure, and while it is still true that many points remain to be determined, yet it is obvious that anatomical inference could have accomplished all that experimentation has accomplished, although it is less tedious to experiment than it is to dissect assiduously, prepare sections so as to show the intimate structure, and to demonstrate in that way. It requires a thoroughly scientific treatment of tissues to produce a good transparent section; but almost any man who can handle a knife can experiment in the random manner now so common in our scientific institutions.

One point more, and our discussion passes to a general review of the history of experiment. As to the encephalic and spinal nerves, all that experiment can accomplish may unquestionably be accomplished by careful dissection. The reader is, of course, aware that, if a given nerve can be traced to its distribution on a given muscle, its function as a motor nerve is settled, and that, conversely, if a given nerve can be traced to a given series of sense-buds (papillæ), its sensory function is settled. Not only this, but minute study of the distribution is more exact than general experimentation could possibly be.

For illustration: When the physiologist has followed a trunk of the facial nerve consecutively, from its origin to the taste-buds of the tongue, he not only has the evidence that the trunk is a sensory one, but he is in possession of a map of its relations. The first question might have been determined by section of the trunk and consequent paralysis to taste in the living animal; but the minute and lucid conception of the course of the nerve and the manner and area of its distribution, which results from the dissection, could not have resulted from the experiment. So as to any nerve of the cerebro-spinal series. The difficulty that was in the way when Bell and Magendie first commenced to experiment, seemed at that date insuperable. In the first instance, the structure of the nervous system in its natural state is so exceedingly soft and delicate that minute dissection is impracticable; in the second place, the final distribution of any given nerve is so extremely tenuous and intricate that dissection without previous preparation is impossible; finally, the idea of dissecting a whole human body in this minute way is one that appals the anatomist, and leads him instinctively to cast about for some shorter cut to the information required. When Bell and Magendie experimented, in 1830, and before and after, anatomical investigation on the minute scale now so common with histologists was not possible. The microscopes of that day were inefficient and unreliable, and only vague hints and fragmentary data existed to indicate that the instrument would one day put certainty and exactness in place of the speculation and guess-work that rendered the older histologists wholly unreliable. Even Auguste Comte, whose philosophical mind was able to grasp some of the more difficult problems of sociology very successfully, had his sneer at the pretensions of microscopy, and was inclined to think that it would never make any substantial additions to the literature of science; and, when M. Comte, with his penetrative though uncertain intellect, erred so materially and misjudged so absurdly, it is as well not to expect omniscience from the men of science who were prominent in his day. There was this,

then, when Bell initiated the vivisection movement in its modern acceptation, to justify him in relying on his experiments: that in no other way was it practicable to investigate with proximate certainty. It is very different now. With a good microscope, ranging from 50 to 1,000 diameters, and having a movable stage, it is possible to penetrate the very mysteries of nervous tissue after proper preparation, to trace the minute anatomy of those microscopic bodies known as sensory buds, and to unfold in a philosophical manner the whole physical ground-work of sensation and motion, of volition and consciousness. Hence the needlessness of experiments, and their uncertainty as compared with the more natural and philosophical method—such that the eminent anatomist, Todd, long after Bell had published his conclusions, could hold the following language in discussing the function of the posterior cords of the spinal column: "I have long been impressed with the opinion that the office of the posterior columns of the spinal cord is very different from any yet assigned them. They may be in part commissural between the several segments of the cord, uniting and harmonizing them in their various actions, and in part subservient to the function of the cerebellum in regulating and co-ordinating the movements necessary for perfect locomotion." The truth is, as will be indicated in a future paper, a fundamental misconception as to the development of the nervous system, common to all anatomists since the days of Gall, Spurzheim, and Tiedemann, has prevented progress in the study of function, and vitiated the investigations of some of our ablest minds.

Having thus cleared the way for a correct apprehension of the general relations of the subject, a short *résumé* of the modern vivisection movement is essential to further discussion. It is very well known that the ancients, particularly the Greeks, had, previous to Aristotle, given some attention to experimental data as to the functions of the various bodily organs. Dunglinson gives a very succinct digest of what is positively ascertained on this question. Galen had, also, anticipated the recent experiments of Brown-Séquard con-

cerning the physiology of the sensory cords of the spinal column, and, although more celebrated as a philosophical thinker than as an experimentalist, René Descartes probably conducted as many investigations on living animals as any one of our modern vivisectors has done. In a word, although it has assumed greater prominence than formerly in the literature of science, vivisection has been practised from the earliest ages as an *agendum* in physiology, and few of its so-called modern results are really new. The impulse given by Bell, from which dates the modern movement, was due to the fact that his conclusions were very striking, and brought into view the presumption that a true philosophical physiology could be built up, piece by piece, from experimental data; and, although it is very doubtful whether his more generalizing views have not hindered more than they have assisted progress, Bell unquestionably added largely to the materials for systematic physiology. He was, for example, aware of the very important fact that there is a nervous circuit between the brain and the muscles, and that, while the nerves convey the influence from the brain to the muscle, they also keep the brain advised of the condition of the muscle and of the amount of tension it is at any moment exercising. In other words, muscular contraction is a mixed act of the motor and sensory nerves, not a purely motor one; but it is not so clear, anatomically, whether this sensory function belongs to special nerves, or whether it is a sensory residuum pertaining to the nerves of motion themselves, although many have concluded, rather *à priori* it seems, that the pacinian bodies are true sensory buds, their structure being analogous to that of such buds. The evidences of intimate anatomy, however, favor the opinion that this feeble sensory phenomenon pertains to the motor nerves themselves, in like manner as feeble motor phenomena accompany the intenser forms of sensory action. Bell's predilection for a hard and impassable division between motor and sensory nerves led him to assume the existence of sensory fibres distributed to muscular tissue on a considerable scale—an inference from the phenomena that intimate anatomy by no means justifies.

Contemporary with Bell, Magendie, Legallois, and Flourens, in France, entered with true Gallic enthusiasm into the new movement, and, with truer and more minute analysis, investigated the brain and cord section by section. It must not be forgotten, either, that M. Dupuytren was the first to demonstrate that asphyxia is the cause of death after division of the pneumogastric nerve; nor that Fodéra had, as early as 1822, indicated the decussation of the sensory columns of the cord, and, consequently, the commissural state of the flattened middle portion, which renders the gray matter similar to a ribbon of nervous tissue, very thin in the middle, and considerably swollen at the edges; nor that Pourfour du Petit had already, in 1725, demonstrated that the influence of the sympathetic nerve is propagated upward in the direction of the brain, not downward from it; nor that reflex action of the spinal cord, as partly demonstrated by Marshall Hall in 1832, and fully demonstrated more recently by Brown-Séquard and others, was very accurately described as early as 1812, and had passed into medical literature, and that Hall merely verified the facts, and grouped and classified them in a scientific manner; nor, lastly, that Rolando, of Turin, as early as 1809, had pretty conclusively indicated that the cerebellum is the true co-ordinating centre of the muscles concerned in walking.

The first experiments of Bell consisted in laying open the spinal canal in living rabbits after stunning them, and dividing the posterior roots of the nerves distributed to the hind-legs. The animal was able to crawl after the operation; but, on irritating the posterior roots, no muscular movements were elicited, while, on grasping the anterior roots, each contact with the forceps was followed by a contraction of the muscles supplied by the irritated nerve. Magendie's experiments, similar in their results, and probably prior, were conducted with puppies six weeks old, in which it is easy to cut through the vertebræ longitudinally with a sharp scalpel. He then divided the posterior roots of the nerves distributed to the hind-legs, closing and dressing the incision. In this condition of the animal,

violent pressure, and even pricking with a sharp instrument, awakened no response of the muscles in the limbs supplied by the sected trunks, but the motive power of the animal was comparatively unimpaired. Repetition of the experiments developed the same results. On the other hand, division of the anterior roots immediately extinguished muscular movements, but did not appear to extinguish sensibility in the supplied limb; while division of both roots extinguished both motion and sensation, leaving the limb flaccid and inert. He now gave nux vomica to the animals under experiment, and while it was in violent convulsions, repeated the experiments. Division of the posterior roots did not arrest the spasms, while section of the anterior roots arrested them in the most consecutive manner. On the other hand, as a point bearing upon the question of muscular sensation treated by Bell, irritation of the anterior roots, when connected with the cord, elicited, along with the usual muscular phenomena, some evidences of sensibility, and, conversely, stimuli applied to the posterior roots, as yet undivided, caused slight muscular contractions along with the usual evidences of sensibility. When, again, the galvanic current was applied to either order of roots, muscular contractions followed; but they were very slight when the posterior were stimulated, and very energetic when the anterior were the subjects of experiment. These data confirm the conclusions of anatomy that the motor nerves retain some remnant of sensory function, and the sensory some remnant of motor, notwithstanding the specialization upon which the general distinction between them is based.

Another important inference from Bell's experiments was, that the ultimate filaments of nerves can propagate impressions in one direction only, whence the primary classification of nerves as afferent and efferent, terms very nearly correspondent with sensory and motor. That is to say, an afferent nerve propagates impressions from the periphery toward the central portion of the nervous system, while an efferent nerve propagates from the centre toward the periphery. Here, again, intimate anatomy is more successful

than experiment in determining the physiology of this distinction between sensory and motor. In point of structure, it is now known that nerve-buds, whatever their situation, are properly minute but very complex nervous centres, associated together by means of a plexiform arrangement of filaments, so that the nervous tunic of the human organism may be regarded as a delicate web of enmeshed and interwoven nervous threads, whence, at intervals, spring up minute bodies, abundantly supplied with cell-elements, and therefore capable of originating impressions. The general description of the text-books, which represents the filaments as passing directly from the sensory buds to the central portion of the nervous system, is deficient in accuracy, and conveys an erroneous impression, and it is more correct to consider the nervous webs of the skin and other membranes as sensory surfaces, connected with the central masses by filaments, the impressions of which are, however, associated before leaving the membrane itself. The nervous tunic of the human eye illustrates this principle. Certain cell-elements, furnished with peculiar vibrating prolongations receiving the luminous impression, are connected and associated by an intricate intertexture of filaments, by means of which the separate activities of the myriad cells are associated into a single impression. For instance, in viewing a surface consisting of many colors, the exact limits of each color are determined by the association of the cells into one general centre of impression, and thus it becomes possible to picture in the mind a definite map of the surface itself, where, but for this fact, the impression would be confused and inexact. So, also, the nervous elements of muscular tissue follow the same law of association by meshes, and form a nervous net-work enveloping the contracting body, and sending off minute filaments here and there, that end in the connective-tissue cells of the thin, silken, translucent, investing membrane. Thus, the general association and distribution of motor influence are not at all due to volition, but depend on the organization of the nervous elements appertaining to the muscles themselves; and, to apply these facts to the spe-

cial topic in hand, the primary fact that an afferent filament is in connection with cells at both extremities determines its function as sensory, while a motor nerve, on the other hand, is in connection at only one (the central) extremity with cell-elements of a nervous nature. It will very likely be found, however, that the connective-tissue cells, in which motor filaments terminate, are sufficiently susceptible of impression to explain the mental perception of the condition and tension of the given muscles concerned, which accompanies all voluntary muscular movements, but, in any event, it is the anatomical inference, not the experiment, that furnishes a definite conception of the physiology of motor as distinguished from sensory nerves.

The experiments of Legallois formed the materials for the first remarkable paper in medical literature on the relations of the spinal cord to the vital functions; and, although his main inferences were soon subverted by Dr. Wilson Philip, gave a new impulse to experimental inquiry in this particular direction. The experiments of the latter showed conclusively that the vital movements of the heart are independent of the spinal column, but so dependent on the respiratory movements that suspension of the latter involves suspension of the former. Indeed, as has been since demonstrated, if, after section of the pneumogastric nerve, respiration is maintained artificially, the contractions of the heart continue in the usually regular and rhythmical manner, depending, very likely, for their rhythmical property on nervous elements appertaining to the organ itself, and not on any communication with the spinal column. The special function co-ordinated by the vital centres (medulla oblongata) is thus demonstrated to be the respiratory; and here, again, tracing nervous development from the oyster to the man, anatomical inference would have established the fact independent of experimental data. It should be added that M. Flourens confirmed the conclusions of Dr. Philip soon after their publication. The respiratory tract is well known to anatomists, and has its homologue in the vital or respiratory ganglion of the mollusk, although its limits in the

higher vertebrates are not so definite as they are in lower organisms, and some of the nerves springing from it are by no means exclusively concerned in respiration, while other nerves not springing from it are concerned in the respiratory movements. The lingual nerve, for instance, co-ordinates many movements concerned in respiration; the inferior maxillary is also an *agendum* in that process, and governs the instinctive sucking motion of the lips that is associated with it; the sensitive filaments of the fifth pair co operate in the act of sneezing, and so on; so that it is more accurate to designate the whole tract as vital and as associating a large series of vital phenomena, of which respiration is the principal.

The first decisive experiments as to the function of the cerebral lobes were instituted by Flourens, by removing it very cautiously in thin, successive slices, and noting the results. The general inference from these experiments, which neglected anatomical boundaries, was that extirpation of the cerebrum induces a state resembling coma, in which the animal appears to be plunged in deep slumber, wholly lost to external impressions and incapable of originating motion. When aliment is placed in its mouth it will swallow; but it will not eat from a dish placed immediately before it. If a cat, treated in this manner, is held by the legs, back downward, and then dropped, it will turn over in the descent and land on its feet; but it will not stir afterward, nor can any menace elicit the slightest symptoms of apprehension. The distinction here indicated is, as in the instance of the frog, that certain classes of instinctive movements have their origin in the spinal cord and in the cerebellum, but that extirpation of the cerebrum abolishes all conscious perception of external relations, and, with it, all movements of the strictly voluntary class. This distinction is a large one, but it is justified equally by anatomical inference and by direct experiment. More than this, as M. Bouillaud was the first to show, excision of the anterior lobes in animals, in which the Sylvian fissure exists, and of the homologous parts in animals in which the fissure is not apparent, eventuates in abolition of all perception of

environing objects and of external relations, although sight and hearing are still intact, as they really are after ablation of the hemispheres.

In another important point M. Bouillaud successfully refuted the conclusions of Flourens, who asserted that the cerebral lobes, as a whole, concur in fully and completely exercising their functions; that, when one of the special senses is lost, all are lost, and when one faculty disappears, all disappear; in short, that a certain portion of the hemispheres may be ablated without impairing any of their functions, but that, when this limit is passed, all voluntary acts and all perceptions simultaneously perish. Magendie's curious experiments on the striated bodies and posterior ganglia of rabbits must be omitted here, although very interesting in themselves, because, albeit they have been often verified and repeated, the phenomena connected with them, unless referable to vertigo, are not, in the present state of our information, susceptible of rational explanation. The fact, however, that on removal of both striated bodies the animal ran violently forward, deviating neither to the right nor to the left, and striking against any object in its way, taken in connection with the fact that removal of the cerebellum is followed by a tendency to walk backward, or, in ducks, as M. Fodéra states, to swim backward, points to a certain concurrence of the contents of the skull, as a whole, in locomotion, which it may be well for physiologists to consider, while agreeing that the cerebellum specially co-ordinates the muscles concerned in this function. Indeed, from anatomical inference, there is no doubt that the special senses, sight and hearing in particular, have a definite influence over the movements concerned in walking, and contribute to their regulation. Hence, division of the semicircular canals in the ears of birds, as practiced by Magendie, is followed by phenomena in every way analogous to those resulting from section of the cords of the cerebellum or ablation of the striated bodies. The mutuality that exists between sensation and motion is a subject that has received too little attention, as yet, to admit of intelligent discussion; but

what is known of the nature of reflex action points to the view that the deepest and most fundamental properties of nervous tissue are involved in the correlation that subsists between motion and sensation, and *vice versa*, and that no coherent physiology of the nervous system can be ventured upon until this mystery has been penetrated.

It has been our intention in this paper, while exposing the cruelties of vivisection, to point out the fact that it cannot be candidly put foward as having added materially to physiology. It seems evident, on a careful but condensed survey of the facts in all their various relations, that it has done little more than to verify anatomical inferences, and that, in whatsoever it has been temporarily in conflict with them, it has been finally conceded that the inference was correct and the experiment imperfectly conducted. The question is primarily, of course, a question of methods of investigation. In anatomical inference the function is inferred from the anatomical relations of the ganglion or nerve, and it is presumed that the function was built up in the development of the nervous system, and even modified materially, by the internal and external conditions under which the given organism has for ages existed. Though indirect, this method is susceptible of the fullest scientific certainty, and participates in the philosophical. In vivisection, on the other, the processes and the data are purely empirical, in addition to the fact that it can seldom be positively ascertained whether the resultant phenomena are due to the section of a nerve or the excision of a ganglion, in a direct manner, or whether they are consequences of the general sympathy of the nervous system with the lesion, and therefore sympathetic actions. Of course, anæsthesia has partly corrected this defect, but not with due certainty. In any event, they are pathological phenomena that may serve to verify, but should not be substituted for, the inferences of anatomical investigation; and, if any limitation of the practices of experimentalists can be suggested, that will not interfere with the proper interests of physiological science, or if our present discussion shall result in directing

attention anew to the now comparatively neglected field of anatomical investigation, it will have done its work and assisted progress toward more philosophical conception of life in all its various relations.

ART. IV.—*United States School and College Directory for* 1875, *containing a Complete List of Schools and Colleges, and Descriptions of First-Class Educational Institutions, and much other Valuable Information.* 8vo. pp. 176. New York: T. Cotesworth Pinckney.

WE had intended giving our impressions in our present number of some three or four colleges and universities which we took the trouble of visiting last spring. But, as the time for performing the task approached, it seemed more and more disagreeable, seeing that, without stultifying ourselves, or doing great violence to our conscience, we really could not speak in the language of approbation of any one of the series.

We had often heard of "Western" seats of learning, but never hitherto had seen them at their work. We can truly say that, much as we had heard of them that was unfavorable —even ludicrous—we were not prepared for so sad a state of things as we witnessed even at the most respectable of the institutions alluded to. By this, however, we do not mean but there are good colleges and universities in the West, although, judging from the specimens we have seen, they must be exceedingly few: more like angels' visits, or *rarœ aves*, than any other class of public institutions we know.

But "Western" being an indefinite term, it is proper to explain that we include in that category all the institutions of both western New York and western Pennsylvania, which we have thus far seen, with the sole exception of Syracuse University, which rivals in excellence, in every essential respect, the very best of our Eastern institutions. We shall now be the better understood when we say that we prefer to postpone our criticisms until we can make some contrasts; until

we can offset the merits of one against the demerits of another.

The truth is, in a word, that we have not the heart to make such strictures on four or five institutions in succession, in one article, as we sincerely feel they deserve, without being able to relieve the monotony of censure after censure to the end of the chapter, by presenting, in turn, a pleasant or encouraging picture. And even were it otherwise—were our disposition that of Diogenes rather than that of Democritus (the laughing philosopher)—we should shrink from inflicting on our readers so lugubrious a performance. Since an affair has fallen into our hands that is comparatively suitable for the present range of the thermometer, we are all the more willing to alter our resolution for the present. But, in order that such classical students as are of a curious turn may not feel entirely disappointed on account of the intimation we gave in our last number, we transcribe at the bottom of the page a copy of a Latin letter which we wrote and sent some two months ago, as in another memorable case, and which, to the initiated, tells its own story.* It is almost superfluous to add that, as in

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* "Kal. III. Jul., MDCCCLXXV.

"Rev. E. D. Grui, Professori Rhetoricæ, Sal.

"Mi care Domine:

"Gratias tibi pro literis tuis ago. Veniam autem moræ meæ, in respondente, fac si placet. Valde consideratum et humanum in parte Dr. Ligni, docti atque digni Cancellarii tui, sit te mandare literas mihi mittere, causa honoris, cum ipse versatus est tam multum, quam me facis certiorem, in officiis Universitatis. Hoc me monet quam gratus sentiorem pro longis horis inter quas mihi concedebat oblectationem societatis ejus apud Hospitium, me delectans sic præclaré, sed præcipué dum simul cœnabamus, de vanitate atque ignorantiâ capitum institutionum vicinitate.

"Spero, summissé, ut me facias veniam si sæpe cogitaverim ex quo tempore habebam juncunditatem te ipsum et Ligneum Cancellarium videndi si me dedissetis tam multum cognitionis de Universitate Occidentale Pennsylvaniæ quam uterque dedit de Universitate Washingtoniensisque Jeffersoniensis atque de Collegio Muliebre Pittsburgensis, aut potius de capitibus erorum, bene institutus in ratione Universitatis tuæ, essem.

"Heu infelix Præses Hays! et infelicior Præses Pershing! Quam

the same famous case, our Latin letter remains, and doubtless ever will remain, unanswered.

We now proceed to our main task, and think that, if the reader will only have patience while detained in the vestibule, he may calculate on a little amusement.

The present age will be known in history as the age of brass, or the age of puffery. Our posterity of five or six generations hence will, it is to be hoped, find it difficult to believe that a work like that whose title stands at the head of this article could have been published, even in the *commercial* metropolis of the great Republic, within the last half of the nineteenth century. Not but we have seen many publications much more discreditable to their compilers or authors; that is, publications which, while they claim to instruct even the most enlightened part of the public, are replete with evidence that those who get them up are sadly lacking in the very rudiments of knowledge.

Our object, therefore, in taking up the work before us, is not merely to criticise the compiler. We have not the least

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ridiculus, tamen quam foedus tu ipse et ligneus cancellarius tuus utrumque, invicem, facerent. Dolet me nihilominus dicere ut antequam ambobus digressus sum in mentem meam veniebat, plus quam semel, quod si hi singuli de quibus mentionem fecestis sint ridiculiores aut plus inopes disaplinæ ethicæ quam vos ipsi opus est, utique, ut doctores juventatis digni magnæ fidei sitis!

"Volens autem justum esse, conatus sum computare quantum sordis atque ignorantiæ quas videbam apud Universitatem Occidintalem Pennsylvaniæ attributum esset ad caligonem et fumum in quibus amicti constanter sitis. Problema admodum difficile resolutionis invenio. Fortasse Dr. Pershing, aut Dr. Hays, aut ambo ad auxilium meum cum paucis admonitionibus veniant. Possum, interea, solum dicere ut institutionum omnium quæ habent nomen Universitatis quas vidi semper, Universitas Occidentalis Pennsylvaniæ sit illa quæ verba sequentia Quintiliani gravissimé illustrat: 'Nihil enim pejus est iis qui, paulum aliquid ultra primas literas progressi, *falsam* sibi scientiæ persuasionem induerunt.'

"Vale mi care Grus; etiam vale mi carior Ligne, et dic si posses '*mendacem odi.*'

"Sum semper amicus verus tuus,

"EDVARDUS I. SEARS."

disposition to say a harsh word of him; still less do we wish to do him any injury. Accordingly, had the publication been devoted to any other subject than that of education, we should not have deemed it worth while to say one word about it. As it is, we invite attention to its character; but not because it has defects—not because any thing it contains which may be called "original" is an outrage on the English language, and, in general, equally an outrage on common-sense, not to mention truth, which everywhere in its pages is put to the blush. All this would, indeed, have been bad enough in any case; but who that has any intelligence, or sense of propriety, would believe, without ocular proof, that such a publication could be the chosen organ, not only of our "fashionable" academies, seminaries, and institutes, but also of the most pretentious of our colleges and universities? Nevertheless, so undeniable and obvious is the fact, that some excellent educators, but chiefly the heads of ladies' schools, find themselves obliged to go with the crowd, and submit their heads, with as good a grace as they can, to the plasterer's brush. To this, however, we are glad to add that, with not more than one or two exceptions, our really first-class institutions have, at least thus far, kept aloof. This we shall take pleasure in showing as we proceed. It is almost superfluous to say that the institutions of the opposite class muster in full force. We cannot recall a single one of the Dotheboys Hall species which does not occupy a full page, while its head is duly certified to surpass all others in learning and genius!

None, we trust, will suppose that we are opposed to the publication of a School and College Directory, properly so called. On the contrary, we would do all in our power to encourage any one undertaking such a work in good faith, because there could be no question of its utility. But that before us is a different affair. What is styled the "General Directory" occupies about one-third of the whole. Most of this is copied—evidently without much care—from obsolete publications. It were a miracle, therefore, if it did not contain many errors. It would have been otherwise had it been

the real object of the publisher to furnish the public a correct Directory. But, even as it is, that department is useful.

It sometimes happens in our city business directories that persons years dead are given as the heads of mercantile firms. Mistakes, sometimes serious and sometimes ludicrous, are thus caused; but, notwithstanding the worst of those mistakes, no business man will deny that the directory is useful. But, supposing that Mr. Trow, instead of giving the names and addresses of our business men of all grades, would proceed to represent the meanest of his friends as superior to all others, and for no better reason than that they are his friends? Let us suppose that he represents the Chatham Street clothing establishments as, at least, equal to those of Broadway; that, in his estimates of the dry-goods establishments, he assigns the highest rank to those of the Bowery; and that, because somebody in the Sixth Ward has done the handsome thing, he declares that region the most attractive, the most enlightened, the most refined and "high-toned" in New York or elsewhere! Did he pursue this course, is it likely that any of our Broadway merchant princes, or any of our merchants anywhere that have a reputation to lose, would employ him to recommend them to the public, side by side with the enterprising geniuses of Chatham Street and the Bowery? It will be admitted that they would be still more unlikely, if possible, to have recourse to such means to procure customers for their goods, if the recommendations offered to them were in bad English.

But, that the heads of our numerous institutions of learning have no such delicate stomach, we have abundant evidence in the work before us. We have remarked that the "Directory" proper occupies about one-third of the book; the remaining two-thirds are filled with the fair speeches, fine promises, recommendations, etc. No institution has a single fault. The buildings, the "locations," the neighboring towns and villages, the lakes and rivers—even the creeks and ponds —all are perfect! As for the teachers, or the "educationists," as they are generally styled, there is no sort of knowl-

edge, human or divine, in which they are not adepts; they are equally unfathomable in ancient and modern lore; and it is all the same to them whether the happy student committed to their charge is to be instructed chiefly in the languages or in the sciences, not to mention such minor things as literature, composition, orthography, etc., etc.

In short, it would have puzzled the best humorists of *Punch*, in the palmiest days of that journal, to burlesque the educational institutions of America more amusingly than the thing is done in the "United States School and College Directory for 1875." We readily admit that nothing like burlesque is intended. Hervey, in his "Meditations among the Tombs," is scarcely graver than the compiler of the work under consideration, for he speaks everywhere as of the dead, of whom, according to Solon, nothing should be said but in their praise.*

But this is the phenomenon which we have always regarded as so remarkable; it is the *raison d'être* of the present article. The same morbid love for the most fulsome eulogy and clap-trap, and the same intolerance of any thing which is not eulogy, are made particularly manifest to the world during the "Commencement" season. It matters not who bespatters our institutions with praise; whether the coveted unction is thrown on with the trowel or the brush seems all the same—it is the *quantity*, and not the quality, that is so greedily sought. Everybody capable of judging is aware that, although the reporters for the daily press are a useful and intelligent body of men—a class among whom are occasionally found men of education as well as talent—in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they are utterly incompetent to form any proper estimate of the character of an educational institution. The few that are competent are not long reporters, for they can easily find more appropriate use for their pens. Yet the praises of the reporters at Commencement time—the eulogies they bestow on professors and students for their profound knowledge—are treasured up in large bundles, like priceless heir-looms, to be

* De mortuis nil nisi bonum.

distributed, from time to time, for the rest of the year, to the faithful, as evidence that knowledge will die with the learned Faculty of whom such fine things have been said, printed, and published.

But the reporters have several characteristics which distinguish them from the compiler of the work before us. Generally, if not invariably, they evince some knowledge of the structure of the language in which they write; at least, they do not display their ignorance of the rudiments of grammar in every paragraph, nay, almost every sentence, as our "educational" compiler does. But it seems that, just in proportion as the latter proves himself more incompetent than the former to form, or express, any opinion whatever on an educational subject, above A B C, are his "recommendations" more valuable than theirs in the estimation of those who claim to surpass all others as educators.

We are quite aware how incredible all this must seem to those of our readers who, for one reason or another, have not devoted sufficient attention to the subject. But, if we do not prove the justice of our views to the satisfaction of every intelligent, impartial mind, let us stand condemned, not only of exaggeration, but also of misrepresentation. It will take us about half an hour to perform the operation, but we think that those who give us their attention during that time will not be disappointed.

The reader is already aware that the "Directory," pure and simple, occupies about one-third of the book. Then we have the "fair speeches and fine promises" to the extent of eighty-one closely-printed pages. We now come to the "Descriptive Department," which casts any thing of the kind we have ever seen, in Europe or America, far into the shade. But it has one feature which, so far as we are aware, is a decided novelty. We allude to the plan of first delivering a eulogy on the city, town, village, or hamlet, which is so fortunate as to have such an institution as that about to be "described" within its precincts, or in its suburbs. Every place, large or small, having this advantage, is peerless; compared

to it, Puck's Paradise is tame and vulgar; and one is reminded at almost every page of Puck's experience:

> "There were Heads of Colleges *lying about*
> From which *the sense had all run out.*"

But, be it remembered, that all "notices" of schools, colleges, universities, etc., in the "Descriptive Department" close like the refrain of a song, referring for "full particulars" to the advertisement. But there is a much closer relation than this between the prospectuses and the eulogies. In the majority of cases there is something more than a family resemblance between the phraseology and grammar of the latter and those of the former, as we shall take occasion to show before we close.

Nothing occurs in the ordinary way in the "Descriptive Department." Every thing, whether it be the product of nature or art, is "located;" and where it is to be found is its "location." For instance, take Paterson, N. J., the first we happen to see. Because there is here the "Tallman Seminary," the fame of which is doubtless known to all our readers, we are treated to a full description. "Here," we are told, "*is located* Passaic *Falls.*" Again: "An excellent select school is *located* here." This, however, is not all. We are informed that "its easy means of access *and desirable* surroundings *make particularly* an excellent *location*" (p. 157). The various other attractions of the place are far too numerous for us to mention.

Happening to turn to Tarrytown, we learn that several remarkable things are "located" there. Instance: "Here is *located* the old Dutch Church," etc. Our author closes his description of Tarrytown thus: "Few better *locations* for select schools can be *found*, and *several may be found*, of which mention is made below" (p. 166). Need we say that Miss Edgeworth has no more curious specimen than this in her "Essay on Bulls." Five Tarrytown "locations" (schools) are duly described; but they are all alike in their wonderful perfection.

The Jackson Military Institute, besides being "*thorough*

and *complete*," has "*first-class testimonials.*" Of the Home Institute, we are informed: "Buildings eligibly *located and with* secluded grounds." At Miss Bulkley's Seminary, a "*thorough* course of study *provided.*" It is needless for us to make any comment on the "perfection" of the Tarrytown institutions.

Turning to the city of New York, we learn from the "description" that it ranks in the educational world about the same as Tarrytown, Paterson, and numerous other places. First, we are enlightened as to its "*geographical location.*" Regarding our great schools, we have the following valuable information: "They are accessible from any part of the city by street-cars or stage. Those *in our advertising columns* are mostly *located* in the upper part of the city, *contiguous* to its *many* public parks, and in healthful neighborhoods." Then, "several of *the most excellent*" are "described." There are some of those unrivalled institutions which have been "located" in almost every "neighborhood," and have everywhere left behind them striking illustrations of their peculiar system of political economy—supposed to have been invented by the Arabs of the time of Mohammed.

Referring to migratory affairs reminds us that we may be permitted to be a little irregular in our movements on the present occasion. Accordingly, we proceed at once to our author's description of Claverack, N. Y. Of course, it is a wonderful place. We are informed that it "has many advantages *making* it a *desirable location.*" "The Hudson River Institute (Claverack College), *located* here, has *made* it *celebrated* in *every State.*" This, however, is not enough; we are further told that it "is *located* in the best district in the village," and that "the College is *noted* for *the excellence* (*sic*) *of its tuition, scholars* (*sic*) *having attended from all parts*" (p. 158). Who will send to Oxford, Cambridge, Heidelberg, or Berlin, after this?

Because two such great educators as the heads of St. Agnes School and Folsom's Business College, have suitably evinced their appreciation of niches in the great educational pantheon,

we are treated to a full description of Albany, and duly informed of the various great and good things "*located*" there. It is satisfactory to know that "the Rt. Rev. Wm. Croswell Doane, S. F. D., is President of the Board of Trustees, and has charge of English Literature." But, let us ask in passing, what of the learned and pious educator, "formerly of Oxford," employed to give the young ladies the finishing touches to qualify them for Oxford diplomas? Is it because he mistook the wife of somebody else for his own in his hurry coming away that his name is suppressed?

We may seem ill-natured in alluding again, even thus incidentally, to some of the peculiar means adopted by Bishop Doane for securing to the young ladies committed to his charge a loftier moral and religious tone than is to be found in less favored institutions. But should such be kept a secret from the fathers and mothers of the country? Far from us be the hypocrisy of pretending to be immaculate either in morality or religion; nevertheless, we have always thought that men, chosen by bishops to teach young ladies, ought at least not to be such as have had their reputation, whether justly or unjustly, sullied by scandal. Be this as it may, we hope the bishop will profit by the handsome certificate he has received in the "Descriptive Department" of the United States School and College Directory, and that he has not "paid too much for his whistle."

It seems that, at Auburn, N. Y., there is a Young Ladies' Institute kept by a distinguished member of the Browne family who wishes to figure at full length in the "Directory." To this interesting fact we are indebted for a full description —though not exactly in Goldsmith's style—of Auburn. The various excellent things "located" there are too numerous to mention. Thus, for example: "Several newspapers are published here, *and all banking facilities that may be desired*" (p. 158). That is, "banking facilities" as well as newspapers are published there. But, like so many other places, its main feature is the following: "An *excellent city* as an *educa-*

tional centre." Of course, "the instruction is thorough," and "the charges are moderate."

When it comes to the turn of Hamilton College to get its share of the precious unction, the artist is evidently in an exhausted condition; his vocabulary has run short; perhaps he is puzzled because the head of the latter institution is also a member of the Brown family. Not but Clinton, N. Y., is "described" as a great place—one that "has long been *celebrated* as an *educational town.*" In short, the careful reader will receive the impression that Hamilton College is quite equal to Claverack College, and that the Rev. Samuel Gilman Brown, D. D., LL. D., is equal, as an educator, to the Rev. Alonzo Flack, D. D., Ph. D. Nor can it be denied that there are certain resemblances which are very striking. The following sample of the claims of President Brown, as set forth in the "Directory" under his own name, may, we think, be offset with any similar claim of President Flack:

"This *long* and *well* established College is still increasing its facilities for the *improvement of those wishing to complete their education* under the guidance of *the well-known members of its Faculty.*"

That is, students may do very well at other institutions, but if they want to receive the finishing strokes, they must go to Hamilton! We, who have witnessed the *modi operandi* of both institutions, may be permitted to think that President Flack is entitled to some credit, at least, on the score of frankness. Instance his proclaiming, so naively, in the work before us, the peculiar merits of the department of his institution known as "Claverack Commercial College and *School of Trade.*" We may be entirely mistaken, but it strikes us that there is a department at Hamilton, also, which, without any violence to language, or political economy, might be called the "School of Trade." We are quite aware that, in speaking thus of such eminent divines and scholars as Drs. Brown and Flack, we lay ourselves open to the charge of presumption, and, perhaps, impiety; but we merely express our opinion in all humility—in a spirit somewhat like that of Molière's Cléante:

"Je ne suis point, mon frère, un *docteur rêvéré*,
Et le savoir chez moi n'est point tout retiré.
Mais en un mot, je sais, pour toute ma science,
Du *faux* evec le *vrai* faire la *différence*." *

Williamstown, Mass., is nearly as great a place as Paterson, N. J., for in the former is Williams College, and the right thing has been done by "P. A. Chadburne, A. M., President, *with an unexceptional* (*sic*) *faculty*." We are informed that, "located as it is among the Berkshire Hills, *with their* pure air, with *its health-giving vitality*, it is not to be wondered at," etc. A place that can boast such a "faculty" and such "vitality" is not often found; accordingly, we are informed that "parents *should make inquiries* in reference to Williams before sending their sons elsewhere" (p. 155). We confess that, after this, we shall think that "parents should make inquiries" before sending to Williams.

A still finer place, if possible, is Stamford, Conn. Its attractions are great and various, although most of them are new to us. The following, however, is no novelty: "A village well adapted for *an* educational institution, *of which* there are *several first-class*" (p. 151). This is a new illustration of the principle *pluribus in unum!* but it is by no means the only one of its kind, as we may take occasion to show. For the present, it is more to the point to ask, Who has not heard of the renowned "Stamford Military Institute?" And scarcely less famous is Betts' Military Academy in the same favored place; not to mention Gothic Hall, in which "the course of study is thorough," but "*special attention* to elementary branches." This is something like making a virtue of necessity.

We are here reminded of Hagerstown, Md., which is "one of the *loveliest*." We are informed that it "is an *excellent town* for *a* select school, *one of which* (*sic*) is to be *found* here." It seems Jamaica, L. I., is very similar, for we are informed that the latter "is a well-adapted and desirable location for *a* boarding-school, the *principal one of which* (*sic*) is mentioned below, *being* one of the oldest in the State,

* *Le Tarluffe, ou l'Imposteur*, Acte 1, Scene vi.

and one which has *always* sustained its *time-honored reputation*" (p. 161). What a wonderful seminary! It was "time-honored" even in its infancy. Flushing, N. Y., is another member of the same "happy family," for it has within its "surroundings" the famous Magregor Hall, which has "an efficient faculty." "The school has been in successful operation for nine years, and has fully sustained its *early* reputation (!)." Peekskill Military Academy is still more "time-honored," for we are informed that it "is now in the thirty-eighth year of its *existence as a first-class school.*" The fame of the chieftain at its head is co-extensive with this continent, and he is equally renowned for his profound and multifarious learning, and his daring exploits as a warrior.

Every city, or village, that evinces due appreciation of the educational Walhalla, is set down as "a great centre of education," "it has long been celebrated," etc. Thus, for example, we are informed that this and a great deal more of the same sort are true of Baltimore. It is not better, however, it seems, than Hagerstown, in the same State. But more illustrious than either, if possible, is Chester, Pa., which, we are told, "is *celebrated* as the seat of the Pennsylvania Military Academy, *a thorough school*" (p. 167). But this is not all; the world is assured that "no pains are spared to teach the cadet to *think* and to *impart* (*sic*) habits of reflection." As for teaching cadets what one has never learned himself, and "*imparting*" to them what one never possessed—these, it seems, are among the simplest processes. Pottstown, Pa., is also a capital "centre." "A very desirable place for *a* select school, *of which two* excellent may be *found* here" (p. 169). Let every careful father and mother take note that Pottstown "is *pervaded by an air of social gentility*" (*ib.*). Wilmington, Del., the highly-favored seat of the Wesleyan Female College, is unsurpassed in various respects, yet we cannot but feel for its alumnæ, who, we are informed, "*may be found scattered throughout the United States*" (p. 152).

Everybody knows how famous Philadelphia is for its colleges, universities, etc. Five of its "*first class educational*

institutions" receive appropriate niches in the Pantheon. We are bound to believe that each is perfect, although we are ashamed to own that we had never before heard of any of the five.

It occurs to us here as somewhat odd that there is no word of Boston. Alas! has the modern Athens of former times lost cast? We remember the time when it used to be called an "educational centre." Some used to regard it as even "celebrated." But, now, not only Philadelphia and Paterson, Albany and Auburn, but also Pottstown, Hagerstown, Flushing, etc., rank far before it; for not one Boston institution is honored with a word in the "Descriptive Department." In short, the capital of New England is entirely ignored. It used to be supposed that there was no school for young ladies in Pennsylvania, Maryland, or New Jersey, which was superior to the representative school of Boston, namely, the Gannett Institute. But it seems it was all a mistake; the Chester Square institution was but a myth. At all events, according to our educational guide, there are better schools now everywhere—better at Tarrytown, better at Jamaica, better at Stamford, etc. But let us pause for a moment. Examining the long array of prospectuses, we find that not one of the heads of the Boston institutions has imitated those of the wiser and more learned heads of those immortalized, as we have shown.

It is true that the present head of Harvard makes his appearance as a prominent patron, decorated with all his degrees and titles. But the well-known infirmity of Dr. Elliot will fully account for this. His predecessors had secured an honorable fame for Harvard, but so modest is he that his highest aim seems to be *notoriety*. Although his distinction as an educator is purely *ex-officio*—the gift of partial, if not altogether disinterested, friends—he can have no more appropriate motto than the line of Corneille:

"Je ne dois qu' *à moi seul* toute ma renommé."

Turning over a dozen pages or so, our eye is attracted by

the "description" of Sing Sing, N. Y. It is almost needless to say that we find it a wonderful place. We are informed that, "The *altitude* of the land *and* the *salubrity* of *air has* given Sing Sing the *reputation* of healthfulness;" that "Sing Sing has *long been celebrated*," etc.; and that Mt. Pleasant Military Academy is "*located in a substantial stone and brick structure*," etc. (p. 165). Moreover, the institution is "surrounded by an *extensive campus* and gardens." What the "campus" is, we can only guess. The ancient Romans had two *campi*—the *Campus Martius* and the *Campus Sceleratus*. The former was an extensive plain *without* the walls, where the levies of troops were made by the Tribunes, etc.; the latter was a much smaller place *within* the walls, where the Vestal Virgins who had broken their vows were *entombed alive*. Now, after which of these is the Sing Sing "campus" called? As we know the head of the institution to be a humane gentleman, who would have nothing to do with the entombing of vestals, or non-vestals, dead or alive, we will take it for granted that what is meant is the renowned "Field of Mars." We are glad to see that the Holbrook Military School, also at Sing Sing, has escaped the heavier touches of the "descriptive" brush. We think we see internal evidence in the "description" that Dr. Holbrook, like other good educators whom we shall have to mention as "taken in" when off their guard, begged to be spared—that there be no daubing in his case. But, as evidently the reverse is true of the head of the far-famed Yonkers Military Institute; for we are informed among other curious things that "The city (Yonkers), is *in every respect* a wealthy, populous, and refined community" (p. 164), that is, it is in every respect wealthy, in every respect *populous*, and in every respect refined! Need we say that the compliment to Yonkers is "in every respect" equivocal?

Turning to the description of Locust Hill Seminary, also at Yonkers, we are reminded of an anecdote of Queen Elizabeth. Once her majesty had occasion to visit Falkenstone. The inhabitants, wishing to impress her favorably, employed the parish

clerk to versify their address. The mayor, being duly introduced as their representative, mounted a three-legged stool, and with great gravity commenced to read thus:

"O mighty Queene,
Welcome to Falkensteene!—"

To the dismay of the poor mayor, Elizabeth burst out in a roar of laughter, and, without giving his worship time to resume the fine performance, replied:

"You great fool
Get off that stool."

We are sure that Miss Rice has spoken more politely than Elizabeth, but, whatever language the lady used, we are glad to say that it has had the effect of warding off the rougher touches. The same might be said of some three or four other institutions, male and female, which are well known to our readers as having no need for daubing with either trowel or brush.

But, with the few exceptions, to which we have alluded more than once in this article, the institutions that figure in the "Descriptive Department" are, indeed, in need of some sort of "wash," whether white or black, if there be any virtue in it. Certainly, nineteen out of every twenty require a pretty thick coat; and, of those which need neither whitewash nor tinsel, nine out of every ten are conspicuous in the "Descriptive Department," and that to which it is constantly referring, only for their absence. In proof of this, let us first turn to the schools and institutes. Thus, for example, the superior excellence of the Selleck School, at Norwalk, Conn., is acknowledged by every competent, impartial judge, wherever it is known. But not a word about it in the "Descriptive Department." *Per contra*, another Norwalk school is certified "unsurpassed," with the usual refrain, "see, for particulars, etc." For the sake of the latter, the "location" is eulogized through all the moods and tenses. We quote one sentence as a specimen, only asking the reader to admire the grammar of it: "Norwalk, *not only being* a thriving and prosperous

manufacturing village, is also a quiet, retired, country town, combining all advantages, *as a location*, for a select school" (p. 158). We readily admit that Norwalk is a beautiful and attractive village; nor do we know any place better adapted, in all essential respects, for an educational institution. What we object to is, not praising Norwalk, but doing so to the prejudice of our mother tongue, and at the same time entirely ignoring a School which, confessedly, has no superior in New England.

According to the same plan, while Claverack College, on the Hudson, is declared "celebrated," "noted," etc., for every thing great and good, the world is left to infer that Fort Edward, also on the Hudson, has passed out of existence, or, at least, that it is but a mole-hill, in knowledge, compared to the great Claverack mountain, which is constantly in labor, but scarcely ever brings to a happy birth even a mouse; whereas, the simple truth is that Fort Edward is as much superior to Claverack as Hippocrates was to Sangrado.

Madison University, and its Academy, have very handsome niches in the "Directory." In each, James B. Colgate, Esq., the well-known soap manufacturer, occupies a prominent position. He takes the lead even of the Rev. Ebenezer Dodge, D. D., LL. D., President of the University. Finally, the following comprehensive certificate is given: "The *Faculty* and *educational advantages* of Madison will compare favorably with *any*, or *all*, of our first-class colleges." This recalls the axiom in Euclid: "*Things* that are equal to the same *thing* are equal to one another." But will the Rev. Dr. Dodge be satisfied? May he not grumble that some important omissions have been made? Be it remembered that the prospectuses of the University and its Academy fill two pages, illustrated with cuts. There is a great deal of small type—many "peculiar features"—in these two pages, and the Rev. Dr. Dodge will suffer no dodging as to the amount of praise to which he thinks he is entitled. Although what we have quoted ought to be unctious enough for any ordinary educational stomach, yet we should not be at all surprised to hear

that the "Directory" man has been notified that he has not said half enough, and, therefore, that the University must withdraw its patronage! We know how incredible this must seem. There was a time—and not many years ago—when we also regarded such things as impossible; but we have learned from experience that there is but too much truth in old Plautus's estimate of a certain class of minds: "While they are expecting a favor," he says, "they are *very gracious;* but when they have once got it, from being gracious they become *surly*, and *ready to take every advantage.*" *

We have already seen what noble seats of learning Stamford Military Institute, and Betts' Military Academy, are; but our faithful guide has not told us one word about the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, in the same State. It is in vain that the latter has well earned the reputation of occupying the first rank among the colleges and universities of New England. In Pennsylvania, we see the same plan carried out *ad nauseam.* Pottstown, Chester, Downington, are all the seats of "celebrated" institutions; but by far the best college in the State—one that ranks with the best in America—namely, Lafayette, at Easton, is entirely ignored in the "United States School and College Directory."

We read of unrivalled institutions in Maryland—at Hagerstown, Jessup's Station, etc. We are informed that, at Elicott City there is a wonderful school, where "the personal *supervision* of instructors *secure* a *degree* of *thoroughness* not attained *in larger institutions.*" That which is thus distinguished is St. Clement's Hall, an institute for boys. For the sake of this, we have the usual fine description of the "location," and we are informed that "a *select* social influence *pervades* the inhabitants" (!). But not a word does our School and College Guide tell us about Rock Hill College, which is "located" in the same place, and which, a

* Quod sibi volunt,
Dum id impetrant, *boni sunt;* sed id ubi jam penes sese habent,
Ex bonis pessumi et *fraudulentissimi*
Sunt. *Capt.*, 2, 1, 85.

most of our readers are aware, ranks among the most efficient and faithful colleges in the United States.*

We will now glance for a moment at the eulogies which our great educators make upon themselves, and at the grounds upon which they claim to excel all others, asking the curious reader to notice the resemblance between their phraseology and grammar and those of their puffer and guide. Commencing at New York, we are informed that the claims of Prof. Macmullen to superiority are, "*having passed more than two years in Europe*, and having taught for many years

* We have often remarked, in our educational discussions, that there is no reason why any one who really understands the Latin language should not be able to express his ideas in it tolerably well, not only with the pen, but also with the tongue. We have always held that every college professor of Latin should be capable, at least, of writing a decent Latin letter. It was no surprise to us, therefore, to receive such a letter, well written, from the Latin professor at Rock Hill, shortly after the publication of our last number. As it may interest the classical student to see it, we transcribe it here, and subjoin our reply:

"Eruditissimo et valde dilecto,
"Amico meo, Dr. Sears, LL.D.,
"Novo Eboracensi.

"Chare Amice:

"Quam multas gratias reddere tibi debeo, et in quam paucissimis verbis necesse est ut te nunc alloquar. Hodie ex Virginiâ redeor, et paucis ante momentis, mihi Rector Reverendus, Frater noster charissimus Bettelin, librum tuum tremestrem dedit. Cum opusculo tuo omnes valde delectamur, et pro iis qua de me et de filio meo scripsisti quam multas in corde meo gratias habeo reconditas.

"Mense Augusti exeunte te spero videre, et tunc in propriâ personâ exprimere coner quæ nunc scribere non possum.

"Grato et amantissimo,
"H. C. McLaughlin.

"Dabam apud Collegium Saxicollense,
"Quarto Kalendas Augusti, MDCCCLXXV."

"Pridie Kal. Jul., MDCCCLXXV.

"H. C. McLaughlin, Professori Doctissimo, etc.

"Mi care Domine:

"Quando literæ tuæ adveniebant ad mensam meam in rure eram. Meo reditu festino pro iis gratias tibi agere.

"Sententiam præclaram Collegi tui profecto formabam atque etiam

in *his native city of New York*" (p. 92). If "passing" more than two years in Europe be evidence of excellence as a teacher, how excellent must be the qualifications of our hod-carriers, rag-pickers, etc.! True, the latter did not go thither, nor were they there for "pass time."

Prof. Browne, of the great Institute at Auburn, proclaims to all whom it may concern, that the distinguishing feature of his institution is "to meet the wants of parents who prefer to educate their daughters *abroad*" (p. 1). Those wishing to go "abroad" may henceforth go to Auburn! We trust it is not our fault if this, in connection with certain other things, reminds us of that part of the song of old Puck, in which the following lines occur:

> "My skill as a linguist all must know
> Who met me *abroad* some time ago;
> And heard me ABROAD exceedingly, too,
> In the moods and tenses of *parlez-vous*."

Passing from Auburn we come to Albany, where the Rt. Rev. Bishop Doane proclaims that one of the chief features of his plan is "to *mould* their (the young ladies') *manners* by the *shamefacedness* and sobriety," etc. (p. 109). Be it remembered that "*shamefacedness*" means "*excess* of modesty," what the French call "*mauvaise honte*," or "*gaucherie*." Need we say that it is not culture, but lack of culture, that

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formulæ doctrinæ tuæ. Præterea admodum oblectus sum de situ [illegible] amœno ejus; et mea optatio vera erat bonis Fratribus placere, præcipué [illegible] meo caro atque insigni amico, Fratri Betteliniensi. Quoquomodo [illegible] eram nequaquam certus in hoc faciente, ut successissem. Gratum [illegible] multum me facit de te accipere urbanam confirmationem ut mei conatus [illegible] etsi humiles placere atque bonum facere, non fecerunt omnino frustra.

"In ratione verbi quod dici de te personaliter, et de filio tuo [illegible], possum solum dicere ut mihi præbeat multam dilectationem opportunitas [illegible] tem habere gratum esse erga talem eximium institutorem juvenum.

"Quando ad urbem venias, in mense proximo, quemadmodum dicis, valde delectus ero te videre in domo meo.

"Cum amantissimis optationibus erga Fratres optimos.

"Sum semper amicus verus tuus,

"EDVARDUS I. SEARS."

causes "shamefacedness?" Another "specialty" offered by the learned and pious Bishop is this: his grace guarantees "a thorough education, *without the spiritual risk of the Roman Catholic Schools.*" Does this "risk" present itself at Poughkeepsie Female Academy, whose rector is an Episcopal clergyman as well as a scholar and educator? Does it exist at Cottage Hill Seminary, Poughkeepsie? If not, still less can it be said to exist at Elmira Female College, or at Maplewood Institute, Pittsfield, Mass., since the head of each of the two latter institutions is a Presbyterian clergyman, but not at all sectarian as an educator. Why is his grace of Albany so much afraid that young ladies will be subjected to this "spiritual risk?" Is it because his brother is a Catholic priest, a believer in the Immaculate Conception, etc., or because Episcopal sectarianism is profitable at Albany? But, we beg pardon, we must not trifle with Rt. Rev. "Shamefacedness."

From Albany we turn to Tarrytown. In the prospectuses of the latter place we find some wonderful things. Thus, for instance, the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury, of the Young Ladies' Seminary, announces that one of the peculiar features of his institution is "to inculcate such moral and religious *principle* as may not only *produce* an educated *mind*, but also," etc. (p. 75.) A wonderful "principle" it must be which will "produce" an educated mind!

Still more wonderful, if possible, is the Buckley Seminary in the same happy "location," for we find in its prospectus the following very modest and grammatical assurance:

> "The Principal, *with an efficient corps of teachers*, offers to her pupils superior advantages for a *thorough* education in the various branches of English Literature, Mathematics, the Natural Sciences, and also in Ancient and Modern Languages."—p. 78.

We should like to know what college or university in Europe or America can pretend to do more than this? But mark the language. What it means, according to the principles of the English tongue, is, that certain "superior advantages" are offered; also "an efficient corps of teachers;" the latter are thrown in as a bonus!

The specialty of Stamford Military Institute is, "*A profound regard for truth*" (p. 118). As an illustration of this, we are assured, on excellent authority, that a certain great Stamford educator has printed, as a reference in his catalogue, the name of a distinguished judge, who, on being written to for information, declares that he had never before heard either of the great educator or his institution! As for Greek, Latin, the Mathematics, etc., etc., if the "cadets" are not saturated with each it is only because they are hopelessly stupid.

The great thing at "Gothic Hall," Stamford, is the "*highest culture of body.*" We are told that it is all very well to cultivate a young lady's mind, but it is added, that this "should be made subordinate to the *attainment* and *preservation* of a sound and *vigorous* body" (p. 117). The prefix "Gothic," seems to us fully justified by this. Moreover, we beg leave to infer from it that the science most "conscientiously" taught at the "Hall" is that of which the Hon. John Morrissey is so accomplished a professor.

Among the many curiosities at Claverack College, one is exhibited to us by the head of that institution as—

> "A superior Teacher, who devotes time *not only in classes*, but *in the social circle*, to the *pronunciation* and *correct understanding* of the *different* European languages."—p. 96.

All "the different European languages" are alike to him; he is entirely at home in "the pronunciation and *correct understanding*" of each. Among other "peculiar features" possessed by the college are, we are informed, "twenty-three pianos"—nearly two dozen!

The prospectus of Fort Plain Seminary and Collegiate Institute will amply repay the curious reader for his pains in perusing it. Not only is the Institute "admirably located," but also "pleasantly located" (p. 81). What is, perhaps, still more interesting, "the grounds *contains* nine acres," etc. To this very grammatical and logical piece of information we need hardly add that a "thorough education" is guaranteed.

But, perhaps, the most curious prospectus in the whole

"Directory" is that of Yonkers Military Institute. Like others of its class, this evinces supreme contempt for all rivals. The following characteristic passage will sufficiently illustrate this:

"*Military Nonsense*, which imposes needless expense upon the parent, while it *degrades* to *an unworthy end* the noble ambition of the boy, is discarded."—3d p. of cover.

That is, the military department at other institutions is but "military nonsense"—a thing that "degrades," etc. What say Riverview Academy, Poughkeepsie Military Institute, and Alexander Institute to this? But we beg the pardon of each of the three for comparing them, even in jest, to the Yonkers institution. However, although "military nonsense" is "discarded" at Yonkers, the genuine military science is taught there to perfection; and the results are almost miraculous. Passing over several important things which we are informed it accomplishes, we present our readers the following:

"It is made, also, a powerful means of *imparting* the *really independent bearing derivable* from a *consciousness* of the proper discharge of duty —a bearing," etc.

How wonderful! Be it remembered that nobody can "impart" what he does not possess; still less can any *thing* "impart" what it does not contain, since, to *impart* means to give *a part of*, to share, to allow another to *participate in*, etc. The word comes directly from the Latin *impertire*, and from *pars* (a part), genitive, *partis*. Nor has it a different signification in any language. Need we say, then, that it is simply laughable to talk of the "military" performances at Yonkers as "imparting a really independent bearing," or any bearing whatever? and still more ludicrous does it become when we are told, in the same oracular sentence, that this wonderful "bearing" is "*derivable*" from a "consciousness," etc. We have taken these pains in regard to the word "impart," because it is used in the same sense in about two-thirds of the prospectuses we have examined; and there is not one of those who thus use it ignorantly, as they use numerous other words, that does not claim to give superior and thorough instruction both in ancient and modern languages! But

one word more in reference to the Yonkers Military Institute; its head-master informs us in the same prospectus, referring to the cadets, "not a *black sheep* among them." We are expected to believe, then, that all its *sheep* are white!

We have detained the reader much longer than we had intended. But the question involved is a much more serious one than it would seem at first view. We have already intimated that the sort of English we have pointed out, in every page of the "Descriptive Department" which we have glanced at, should have been passed over with a smile, without a word of comment, had it appeared in the descriptive catalogue of an auctioneer, or the organ of a quack doctor, in which every drug is shown, in turn, to be an infallible cure for all diseases that flesh is heir to. But, be it remembered, that the performance before us claims to be "a standard publication" for "parents and guardians," "wherein they could find *all* the *information* relating to *the better class of scholastic institutions*" (see preface). Elsewhere, the world is informed that,

"It is a complete compendium of schools and their locations * * * and is *thereby* a *standard reference*, permanently before the public. It does *many times over* the work of the newspapers," etc. (p. 171).

We presume that the ground upon which it claims to do "*many times over* the work of the newspapers," is that its eulogies are stereotyped. Instance that on "Stamford Military Institute," which is the same, word for word, this year as it was last year. In every other case that we have examined, in which the puffed concern commenced in time, the puff of this year is an exact counterfeit of the puff of last year, except that in some instances additions are made—that is, a heavier coat of the rouge or whitewash is put on. Probably the same performance will be repeated, annually, under favorable circumstances for years to come. In general, the newspapers do not keep their eulogies "before the public" the second week, or even the second day, not to mention years. There may, therefore, be some foundation for the claim of doing "many times over the work" of the broad sheets.

But the most important part is to come yet. Let the reader examine for himself only a half-dozen of the specimens of grammar which we have faithfully transcribed in the preceding pages, and then not only read the following, but ponder on it:

"We shall soon have *completed* our arrangements for *supplying Principals with Teachers* in *any particular branch*, and as we have an extensive correspondence, all *first-class Instructors will find it to their advantage to communicate with us*" (p. 171).

Let any intelligent friend of education say now whether we are right or wrong. Is this the source to which the rising generation is to look for its superior learning? What sort of people are our first-class educators? Alas! for "their advantage," if they find it in such a quarter, or by such means. It is not the "Directory" people, however, who are to blame; it is not they who degrade the noblest of causes; but those who employ them for the sake of being daubed with praise in the most fulsome manner—in the language of the servants' hall.

In a word, we regret to say, that of nothing does the whole affair remind us more forcibly than of one of the gloomiest passages in Michelet's History. Describing a certain class on the coast of Brittany, the historian proceeds: "They plunder at their ease *under the fire of the coast-guard.* It would be something if they waited for shipwreck; but it is asserted that they frequently *cause it.* Often, it is said, a *cow*, led about with a lighted *lantern* tied to her horns, has *lured vessels on the rocks.*" *

Our educational guides do not use cows to carry their false lights, so far as we know; they find that *sheep* serve their purpose much better; for not only are the latter worthy of consideration, on account of their *fleece*, the unquestioning readiness with which the whole flock follow two or three individuals whithersoever they happen to go, is also of great importance. But this is not all; Cuvier assures us that several of the nobler animals, including the Arabian steed,

* *Histoire de France*, liv., iii.

are sometimes induced to follow the sheep, especially when fodder is scarce. As for the *goats* and the kids, the merest tyro in natural history is aware that they bound off at once after their fleecy kindred; and, no doubt, Virgil had this curious fact in his mind, when he penned the well-known line:

"*Ite* meæ, *felix quondam* pecus, *ite capellæ.*"

ART. V.—1. *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, LL. D. Oxford. 1858.

2. *A History of Greece.* By GEORGE GROTE, Esq. London. 1846.

3. *The History of Greece.* By Professor Dr. ERNEST CURTIUS. Translated by ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WOOD, M. A. London. 1869.

4. *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander.* By J. P. MAHAFFY. New York. 1875.

THE recent discoveries in the region of Asia Minor, commonly called the Troad, showing the actual existence of a pre-historic city on the spot recognized by tradition as the scene of the War of Troy, have given a new aspect to the question, so long and so earnestly discussed by antiquarian and historian, as to the real or purely mythical character of the ancient epos. When history recedes into legend, and the clear daylight of accredited records fades into the twilight of tradition, many wise men have been of opinion that the province of the historian terminates, and that all which lies beyond this clearly defined region is to be esteemed as mere myth—a land of fable in which much that is unquestionably false is inextricably blended with that which may, by a bare possibility, be true, but whose truth we have no more right to assume than that of the fabulous matter with which it is associated. This is the view entertained by Grote, who treats

the entire legendary history of Greece, prior to the first Olympiad—776, B. C.—as altogether unworthy of reception:

"The myths of Troy and Thebes (he says) are no more to be handled objectively, with a view to detect an historical base, than those of Zeus in Crete, of Apollo and Artemis in Delos, of Hermes, or of Prometheus; to single out the siege of Troy from the other myths, as if it were entitled to pre-eminence as an ascertained historical and chronological event, is a proceeding which destroys the true character and coherence of the mythical world." *

It will not, however, be easy for the general reader to accept this theory in its full extent. For the lover of Homer and the early Greek poets it was always hard to believe that this vast array of living and breathing figures was the mere invention of a comparatively barbarous age, and that the detailed accounts not only of men, but entire races, which the early Greek received with unquestioning faith, are utterly devoid of foundation. He will rather say with the illustrious author of Paradise Lost:

"Yet those old and inborn kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what hath so long been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict incredulity." †

To such readers the recent discoveries in the plain of Troy will be doubly welcome, inasmuch as they go far to establish the historical basis of one of the oldest and most popular legends of antiquity, and impart a *primâ-facie* probability to many of the accompanying traditions.

But, even without the basis of actual evidence, there are certain principles on which this disputed question may be examined, and on which we may estimate the degree of antecedent probability in these pre-historic myths which, taken in connection with the fact of their undoubted existence in the earliest period of which we have knowledge as established and unquestioned traditions, may entitle them to reception at the present day. And if, for the purpose, we take our stand-point at the time of the first Olympiad, we find at that period, existing in Greece, a people of no ordinary civilization—a people whose distinguishing characteristics are a love of liberty, an

* Grote, vol. i., p. 647. † Milton's *History of England*, p. 2.

adherence to constitutional forms of government, and a government substantially by the people;* a people enjoying the fullest protection of the laws, and possessing a perfect social organization—at the same time, a people not strictly homogeneous, but distributed into various communities, possessing each its own government and institutions, yet bound together by a community of race, language, and religion, forming, in many instances, a federative association, with a common tribunal for the regulation of international law, a common adviser in the Delphic oracle, and a common religious and social tie in their great annual games. Whether we regard these communities in their individual or collective capacity, we find in them at the outset evidences of a long-established civilization, and form of government; we find, in fact, a nation in the prime of its existence.

When we inquire by what process these communities arrived at the condition in which we first find them, whence sprang their institutions, and by what influences they were developed, we meet with no answer. Sparta may, perhaps, be considered an exception, as we certainly find her provided with a traditional account of reforms effected by Lycurgus. But Lycurgus and his reforms belong to the legendary period,† and when we first meet with Sparta in history, not a few of these institutions appear to have fallen into disuse and become mere matter of tradition. Prior to the first recorded Olympiad‡

* "Historical oligarchy, as well as democracy, agreed in requiring a certain established system of government, comprising the three elements of specialized functions, temporary functionaries, and ultimate responsibility, under some forms or other, to the mass of qualified citizens—either a senate, or an ecclesia, or both."—Grote, vol. ii., p. 82.

† "Concerning the lawgiver Lycurgus, we can assert absolutely nothing which is not controverted; there are different stories in respect to his birth, his travels, and his death, and also his mode of proceeding, political as well as legislative; *least of all is the time in which he lived agreed upon.*"—Plutarch.

‡ "The first date in Grecian chronology which can be fixed upon authentic evidence."—Clinton, p. 123.

Although Grecian *chronology* commences at this point, the *history* of Greece presents little more than a blank for nearly two centuries later.

Grecian history presents a blank, and not only do we find no records, but, as to the period immediately preceding this stand-point, tradition itself is silent. Even the genealogies which were compiled by Eratosthenes and other Greek historians—genealogies admitted to be little more than conjectural—leave a space of from two to four centuries utterly unaccounted for.* But, when we look from this stand-point into the remote past, we find Greece peopled once more—peopled with a race speaking the same language indeed, and distinguished by the same essential characteristics as their descendants—but in manners and customs, political and social institutions, and moral and religious sentiments, so widely differing from the Grecians of history that we are at a loss to imagine by what processes, gradual or sudden, so complete a revolution could have been effected. And for evidence of these characteristics we are not dependent on simple tradition or legend, for we have the inhabitants of pre-historic Greece reproduced in contemporaneous poems, namely, the Homeric epics, composed at a period of which history has preserved no record, and, whatever we may think of them as historical documents, of inestimable value as delineations of the manners and customs of the period which gave them birth.†

* "La période qui me semble la plus obscure et la plus remplie de difficultés, n'est pas celle que je viens de parcourir; c'est celle qui sépare l'époque des Héraclides et l'institution des Olympiades. Si l'on excepte l'établissement des colonies Éoliennes, Doriennes et Ioniennes, de l'Asie Mineure, et quelques évènemens très rapprochés de la première de ces époques, l'espace de plus de quatre siècles qui les sépare est couvert d'une obscurité presqu' impénétrable, et l'on aura toujours lieu de s'étonner que les ouvrages des anciens n'offrent aucun secours pour remplir une lacune aussi considérable."—Raoul Rochette, *Histoire des Colonies Grecques*, tome ii., p. 455.

† "Homer alone, while producing an unsurpassed work of the imagination, is also the greatest chronicler that ever lived, and presents to us, from his own single hand, a representation of life, manners, history, of morals, theology, and politics, so vivid and comprehensive, that it may be hard to say whether any of the more refined ages of Greece or Rome, with their clouds of authors and their multiplied forms of historical record, are either more faithfully or more completely conveyed to us."—Gladstone, vol. i., p. 22.

And not only have we, as it were, a photograph of these ancient people themselves, but tradition has provided them with a history—a history of necessity largely blended with fable, but so minute in essential details, extended through so many generations, and explaining so satisfactorily the many discrepancies between the Greece of the age of Homer and the Greece of Herodotus and Thucydides, that we cannot regard it but as, in the main, entitled to credence.

In estimating the value of this traditional history, no slight consideration is due to the unconscious, or, at least, unintentional testimony given to it by the sole writer of the period of whom we have knowledge. That the epic bard, in locating the various nations of Greece, should have indicated with fidelity the positions which they occupied in his day, may be assumed as matter of fact. But, when we compare his descriptions with the geography of historic Greece, we find them widely divergent. In the Iliad, the inhabitants of Attica are called Ionians,* a term harmonizing with the beautiful tradition of Ion, the son of Creusa, commemorated by Euripides, but by no means in accordance with historic times in which we find no Ionians except on the coast of Asia Minor. These Ionian Athenians are represented as more luxurious in their habits than the generality of Grecians, and are comparatively undistinguished in the war.† This harmonizes exactly with the character of the Asiatic Greeks, but not with that of the Athenians in history. The inhabitants of Thebes, or, at least, of its adjacent territory, are Bœotians, but Homer always alludes to their ancestors, even within the memory of his own elder heroes,‡ as Cadmeans, a race in every respect the re-

* Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες.—*Iliad*, xiii., 685.

† Menestheus, the Athenian commander, though skilled in marshalling forces (*Iliad*, v., 552–555), is by no means distinguished for bravery, and fights, with his contingent, only to be defeated.—*Iliad*, xii., 332, xiii., 685, *usque ad finem*.

‡ Whenever he alludes to the time of the Theban war, which was contemporaneous with Nestor and Tydeus, the father of Diomede. —*Iliad*, iv., 385, 388, 391; v., 804–807; x., 208; xxiii., 680. *Odyssey*, xi., 275.

verse of the heavy and sluggish-minded Bœotians of history; and, while he speaks with the utmost veneration of the ancient Cadmeans, the, to him, modern Bœotians are mentioned with little respect, and form with the Athenians a part of the defeated contingent in the thirteenth book of the Iliad. It is apparent, from the manner in which they are introduced, that the Bœotian inhabitants of the Theban district were, in Homer's time, a comparatively new race, and little reverenced.

The chief seat of power in pre-historic Greece lay evidently within the Peloponnesus. Here lay the domains of the two royal brothers, the descendants of its eponymous hero; and here was Argos, the realm of the Perseid and Danaan princes. So pre-eminently do the Achaians and Argives, or Danai, stand at the head of the Greek races, that their names are applied by Homer to the entire Grecian army; while of the Dorians we hear little or nothing, except that a tribe of that name formed part of the inhabitants of Crete.*

In historic Greece this state of affairs is entirely reversed. Except, perhaps, the Athenians, the Dorians are the most influential of the sons of Greece, ruling the greater part of the Peloponnesian coast, and virtually controlling the Amphictyonic synod and even the Delphic oracles. On the other hand, the Achaians, the race of Agamemnon and Menelaus, the rulers of Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta, and the flower of the Homeric army, are, in historic times, but the occupants of an insignificant strip of land near the Isthmus, containing twelve, and only twelve, harborless cities, and of no political importance; † while their cognate race at the North, the Achaians of Phthiotis—the race of the God-like Achilles—are found to be completely absorbed into the Thessalians. Sparta and Argos are Dorian, and the eminence of Mycenæ is already a thing of the past.

The "divine Elis, in which the Epeians held sway," ‡ is, in historical times, occupied by the Ætolians, whom Homer places on the north of the Corinthian Gulf. Here legend

* *Odyssey*, xix., 177. † *Polybius*, ii., 41. ‡ *Odyssey*, xv., 297.

once more supplies the connecting link in the migration of Ætolus from Elis, the realm of his father, Endymion, into the region named after him, Ætolia, and the return of his descendants with the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesus. The Pelasgians, of whom, in history, all trace is utterly lost,* are, in the Iliad and Odyssey, an existing race—the basis of many tribes both in Greece and Asia Minor—and supplying contingents to both Grecian and Trojan armies, already, it is true, occupying a position of inferiority, but mentioned with respect † as the earliest inhabitants of the land, giving a name ‡ to the vale of Thessaly, and a special title to Jupiter § and to his most revered oracle Dodona. ‖

Now, if there be any one point on which Homer may be regarded as indubitable authority, it must be as to the geographical position of the tribes of Greece whom he introduces into his epic, for the double reason that here he could have no object in misrepresentation, and that any departure from fact would be readily detected by his hearers. Therefore, when history presents us with an arrangement of tribes so entirely dissimilar from that of the historians, we may assume that great changes must have occurred in pre-historic

* Herodotus mentions some few townships speaking a barbarous language, which he *supposes* to be Pelasgian, but he does not profess to *know* the fact.

† Δῖοι Πελαάγοι.—*Iliad*, x., 429. *Odyssey*, xix., 177.

‡ Το Πελαάγικὸν Ἄργος.—*Iliad*, ii., 681.

§ See the invocation by Achilles on behalf of Patroclus:

"Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελαάγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἕλλοι
Σοὶ ναιετάουσ' ὑποθῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι."
Iliad, xvi., 233–235.

Dodonian Jove, Pelasgian, sovereign king,
Whose dwelling is afar, and who dost rule
Dodona winter-bound, where dwell thy priests,
The Selli, with unwashen feet, who sleep
Upon the ground.—*Bryant's Translation.*

‖ Hesiod styles Dodona "the seat of the Pelasgians," and Homer places it in the north of Thessaly.—*Iliad*, ii., 75.

times. When the Athenians continue to venerate Ion as their royal progenitor, although the Ionians are far off in Asia Minor; when the natives of the Peloponnesus still recount the glories of their Achaian sovereigns, though the Achaians have long disappeared, we may see hereafter in what direction; when the race, whose titular origin is Doris, a province of limited extent in Middle Greece, rule paramount in the Peloponnesus, and control the Delphic oracle and the Amphictyonic synod, the presumption of great national migrations becomes inevitable; and, when legend supplements the presumption with detailed accounts of these very migrations, the truth seems sufficiently corroborated to entitle it to reception.

All pre-historic legend is not, however, to be regarded as of equal authority. The creation of eponymous heroes for the different races is in all probability the work of later times. The settlement of Greece by Hellen, the son of Deucalion, and its distribution between his sons Dorus and Æolus, and his grandsons Ion and Achæus, is a legend which bears on its face indications of subsequent invention.* But, that the people of Greece were collectively Hellenes, that Ionians were the early inhabitants of Attica, Ætolians of the Isthmus of Corinth, and Achaians and Dorians successive occupants of the Peloponnesus, may be regarded as established by contemporaneous testimony.

The various traditions, while differing in many and important points, all unite in representing the Pelasgians as the earliest inhabitants of the Grecian peninsula. They are not, however, described as autochthonous, but as having settled the country at a very early period. Even in the days of Homer this occupancy had, however, become little more than a matter of tradition, for he mentions the Pelasgi as at that time existing only in Crete and Asia Minor, whence they

* "That which might have been done at a stroke by the individual mind was done no less effectually by the common thought and wish of the Greek people moulding itself by degrees in tradition."—Gladstone, p. 83.

send contingents to the Trojan army.* But, in the Iliad and Odyssey, the traces are distinct of an ancient Pelasgian occupation of Greece. The Vale of Thessaly is Pelasgian Argos, the Jupiter of Dodona is Pelasgian Jupiter, although his ministers are Helli.

Tradition in later days ascribed to these Pelasgians the pristine settlement of the entire Peloponnesus; and, in Arcadia, to which they would naturally retire when driven from the sea-coast by their more powerful successors, tradition establishes a royal household, the direct descendants of Pelasgus, although, in order to make way for the genealogy of Arcas, the eponymous hero of that region, it adds that the family was annihilated by Jupiter, on account of the crimes of Lycæon and his sons. Æschylus, who may be supposed to utter correctly the tradition as it existed in his day, represents the Pelasgian territory as extending from Peloponnesus to the river Strymon;† in other words, over the whole of Greece. Herodotus gives evidence of similar traditions when he speaks of Arcadia as Pelasgia,‡ mentions a Pelasgic wall at Athens,§ and styles the Athenians *Πελασγοὶ Κραναοι*,‖ and states that, even in his day, recollections of the Pelasgic worship were preserved at Dodona.¶ Still stronger evidence of the universal belief in an ancient Pelasgic occupation of Greece is found in a tradition, recited by the same author as derived from Hecatæus,** that, when the Athenians, under Miltiades, drove the Pelasgians from Attica, and subsequently subdued them at Lemnos, the vanquished people declared that they were driven from the soil of which they were the earliest occupants. Thucydides entertains similar views, and holds that, prior to the Hellenic occupation, the prevailing race and name in Greece were Pelasgic. Dionysius†† gives a summary of the traditions of his day by placing them, in the first instance, in the Peloponnesus, thence representing them to have migrated to Thes-

* *Iliad*, ii., 840. † *Supplices*, 256.

‡ Herodotus, i., 46. § *Ib.*, v., 64. ‖ *Ib.*, i., 56. ¶ *Ib.*, ii., 52.

** *Ib.*, vi., 137, 138. †† *Antiquities of Rome*, vol. i., pp. 17, 18.

saly, whence they were, in a subsequent generation, expelled by the Ætolians and Locrians, and dispersed into Asia Minor and Italy. It is certain that, in the Iliad, only two then existing races of Pelasgi are mentioned—those in Crete, who belong to the Grecian contingent, and those of Asia Minor, who fought on the side of Troy. It is remarkable, however, that the Romans had, from the earliest period, a similar tradition of a pre-existing race of Pelasgi throughout Middle and Southern Italy, formerly called Magna Græcia; and here, as in other instances, history corroborates legend, for on what assumption, other than that of a similar pre-existing race in both regions, can we explain the remarkable similarity of many words in the Greek and Latin languages, in the names of many of their divinities,* and in many points of their religion itself, at a period long before any direct influence was exerted by one nation on the other.

Who these Pelasgi were, and by what route and from what region they first came into Greece, are questions on which tradition itself is silent. Some slight indications exist of an intimate connection with the Argives and with Argos—so, at least, we might infer from their application of the name of Pelasgic Argos to the portion of Thessaly occupied by them. It would appear from Aristotle † that they were, at one time, called Γραικοί—Græci—at least, he mentions the Græci as the inhabitants of Pelasgic Argos prior to the Hellenes. When we consider that it was the Romans who first applied the terms Greece and Grecians in the place of Hellas and Hellenes, we find here a strong proof of their common Pelasgic origin.‡ It is probable, however, that Arcadia continued to retain for a longer period than any other part of Greece its Pelasgian character, and it is not impossible that, even in historical times, the Arcadians retained a considerable infusion of Pelasgic blood. When we consider their comparatively isolated position, the Pelasgian traditions preserved by them,

* *e. g.*, Apollo, Jupiter, Vesta. † Aristotle, *Meteorology*, i., 14.

‡ In Italy the serfs of the Greek colonists were called Pelasgi.—Niebuhr.

and the fact that they boasted of their peculiar antiquity, and styled themselves προσέληνοι,* which signified not "older than the moon" but older than the Selli or Hellenes, this supposition appears extremely probable.

That the route by which the Pelasgians entered Greece was from the south there can be little doubt. The name of Pelasgic Argos, given to a portion of Thessaly, shows that its Pelasgic settlers must have previously dwelt in Argos, and emigrated therefrom. Tradition places the Pelasgi first in the Peloponnesus; and Æschylus may be supposed to have expressed the general belief when he establishes in Argos the royal residence of Pelasgus. In Crete and also in Cyprus, which were on the direct and most usually travelled route from both Asia and Egypt, we find in Homer and other ancient writers traces of Pelasgic inhabitants; and the popular tradition, which gave to Dodona, the Pelasgic oracle, an Egyptian origin, would appear to indicate that region as the cradle of the race; also the names of Ἀπία γαῖα, by which the territory of the Pelasgians is styled in Homer, and χώρη ἄπια in Æschylus, and which the latter makes Pelasgus say was given in honor of Apis, who rendered it fit for the abode of man by clearing it of wild beasts.†

The characteristics ascribed by tradition to the Pelasgians all indicate a southern if not an Egyptian origin. They excelled in agriculture,‡ they built cities—many of them of a structure so massive as to be styled Cyclopean—their tutelary divinities were Dêmêter (Ceres), the goddess of agriculture, supposed by many to be derived from the Egyptian Isis, and Athênê (Minerva), whose name and attributes are considered to identify her with the Egyptian Neith. They were brave—Homer calls them διοῖ —but unwarlike, and were consequently easily subdued by the more energetic Hellenes. They were deeply religious—Herodotus § attributes to them the Greek names of the gods—they had little maritime enter-

* Gladstone, vol. i., p. 122. † Æschylus, *Supplices*, 256.

‡ *Ib.*, 148. § Herodotus, ii., 52.

prise ; they were hospitable to strangers, and prosperous within their own borders.

All these traits manifest a remarkable analogy with the ancient Egyptians, and would seem to indicate for the Pelasgians an Egyptian origin ; but there is one apparently strong point of dissimilarity. If there be one feature of Pelasgian life more strongly preserved by tradition than another, it is the pastoral character ; while shepherds, we are informed, were especially obnoxious to the Egyptians. When we consider, however, the origin of the aversion, namely, the tyranny which the Egyptians for a long time suffered under the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, an unlettered and pastoral race, who were finally expelled with their retainers, not only from the throne but from Egypt itself, it appears possible that we may have in these Pelasgians the descendants of these very shepherd kings.

Whatever was the origin of the Pelasgian colonists, the race who succeeded them were undoubtedly Egyptian. These were the Danai, a race which furnished one of the great titles by which Homer distinguishes the entire Grecian contingent. Æschylus has preserved for us in his Suppliants the tradition how Danaus, the brother of Ægyptus, the eponymous sovereign of Egypt, fled with his fifty daughters to Peloponnesus, where he was hospitably received and protected by Pelasgus, king of that country. Other traditions add that, notwithstanding this protection, he was compelled to give his daughters in marriage to the sons of Ægyptus ; that the daughters murdered their husbands on their wedding night, for which they suffered signal punishment in Hades ; that one, Hypermnestra, spared her husband Lynceus, who ascended the throne of Pelasgus ; that their descendants were Danae and Perseus and the Perseid sovereigns of the Peloponnesus, terminating with Eurystheus and the Heraclidæ.

The Egyptian retainers of Danaus and their descendants would appear to have assumed for themselves, as the ruling race, the name of Danai,* and even to have conferred the

* "It is quite plain that the Danaan name must have had some root lying very deep in the history or legends of Greece, since it would not

me on their Pelasgian subjects.* We find, however, that as rly as in the time of Homer the sovereignty of the Perseids as at an end, the Heraclidæ had been driven from their country, and their throne had passed into the hands of the sons of Atreus, and the name of Danai, applied by the bard to the Greeks, had become an epithet purely traditional.

We come now to the pre-eminently distinguished race that gave to Greece and the Grecians the name which they retained in historical times, the Hellenes. It is clear that these terms—Hellenes and Hellas—were of recent origin at the time of Homer. The warriors assembled on the plain of Troy are by him styled Achaians, Argives, Danai, but never Hellenes. In fact, we encounter this word in its simple form only once,† and in that instance it is applied not to the entire Grecian army, but to some part of the soldiers who follow Achilles, whose soldiers, inhabiting Pelasgian Argos, and occupying Hellas and Phthia, are called Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaians. We meet in another place‡ with its derivative Panhellenes, where the Oilean Ajax is stated to have excelled the Panhellenes (or all the Hellenes) and the Achaians. In these two passages—the only instances in which the term Hellenes is used—we find it applied in a limited sense and in connection with, or, perhaps, in opposition to, the Achaians. The term Hellas, wherever used in the Iliad, has in like manner a local signification, and denotes the territory in or immediately adjoining Thessaly. In the Odyssey, however, a poem of evidently later date, it has already acquired a more extended signification, and is used in opposition to Argos. Now, Argos, we know, was situated in the Peloponnesus, and is often used by Homer as a metonymy for the entire peninsula; therefore, we may reasonably infer that Hellas had by that period become a general term

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have been possible for Homer, as a poet of the people, handling a subject the most profoundly national, to describe the Greek army under any name except one associated with some of the most splendid or the most venerable traditions of the country."—Gladstone, vol. i., p. 359.

* Eurip. Ar. Fr., ii., 7. † *Iliad*, ii., 684. ‡ *Iliad*, ii., 59

or Northern and Middle Greece, Hellas and all Argos * being clearly intended to signify the whole of Greece.† We may, therefore, infer that the race called Hellenes, having commenced their conquests in Thessaly, gradually extended their dominion southward, and in Homer's time were the predominant race as far as the Peloponnesus.

Of the origin of the Hellenes we have some slight indications in the name of Hellespont, the narrow strait between the Euxine and Propontis, by which they may have entered Europe from Asia; and in the race Helli, or Selli, who possessed in Achilles's time the Pelasgian Dodona, a rude and barbarous race who went with unwashen feet and slept on the ground. Yet was it this race, despite their rude origin, who gave to ancient Greece all that it possessed of high refinement, of splendid military genius, of fine imagination, of exalted intellect, and ultimately of advanced political development.

Even in the time of Homer the Hellenes appear to have extended their name and their influence through Northern and Middle Greece. But we shall see that, in the Peloponnesus, likewise, a race, not only Hellenic, but the flower of all the Hellenes, had obtained admission, and were, at the time of the Trojan war, exercising the supreme command.

Of all the titles by which Homer mentions the chiefs of the Grecian army, that which evidently inspires the highest admiration and respect is Achaian. It is to the Achaians that Homer applies the most varied and distinguished epithets, denoting not only courage, but personal beauty and intellectual superiority, as well as the highest advance in civilization. To this race belong the Atridæ, Achilles, Ulysses, Diomedes, Nestor, and their immediate retainers, while their subject

* *Μέσον Ἄργος.*

† The phrase, "*Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος*," is used by Penelope (Odyssey, iv., 724) to denote the region through which her husband's fame extends, and by Menelaus (Odyssey, xv., 80) to indicate the territory which Telemachus ought to travel before relinquishing the search for his father.

races are known as Argives. These Achaians were undoubtedly a Hellic race, for we find them in Thessaly, the earliest home of the Hellenes, a portion of which bore the name of Achaia Phthiotis even in historical times.* In military as well as personal qualities they appear to have surpassed all the Hellenes, and they would seem to have been the precursors of the great Hellic immigration, for we find in Homer that, while the term Hellene had still a limited and local signification, the Achaians were eminent throughout Greece, and the supreme rulers of the Peloponnesus, to which, in fact, the principal Achaian house, the house of Pelops, has given its distinguishing name. Tradition relates this house to have risen to the supreme authority on the ruins of the house of Perseus, Atreus having been called to the throne of Mycenæ when Eurystheus fell before Athens, and having expelled the Heraclidæ, the rightful successors, and bound them by oath not to return for a hundred years.†

Here, then, we have the Greeks as distributed in the time of Homer; the Pelasgians, merged in the conquering races, though still existing in Asia and some of the islands, and perhaps forming the base of the Argive race in the peninsula; the Achaians controlling the subject Argives in the Peloponnesus and the Vale of Thessaly; the Hellenes, the predominant race in Northern and Middle Greece; the Ionians still occupying Attica, and the Cadmeans having but recently abandoned Thebes to the Bœotians; while the ancient race of Danai are still living in exile, and are the guests of the hitherto insignificant Dorians.

With the Dorians we are brought in direct connection with historical Greece, for these are the race who, in historic times, governed the Peloponnesus, and were the controlling authority in the Amphictyonic synod and at Delphi. It is remarkable that, of the peculiar characteristics of these Dorians, tradition says absolutely nothing. Homer mentions them once, only,

* Polybius, vol. xviii., ch. 30.

† Herodotus, ix., 26. Diodor, iv., 58.

as a fraction of the population of Crete;* and their own tradition represents them simply as allies of the Heraclidæ, who assisted them to re-establish the Perseid or Heraclid dynasty in the Peloponnesus. This is a strong circumstance in favor of the substantial genuineness of the ancient Greek traditions, for, had the pre-historic legends originated among the Dorian inhabitants of the peninsula, they would undoubtedly have been of a character to flatter the national vanity of the Dorians themselves rather than of the race which they supplanted. The legend, however, limits the achievements of the Dorians to an attack on the Peloponnesus by sea—at first totally unsuccessful—finally resulting in the entire subjugation of the peninsula † and the expulsion of the Achaians therefrom, and, as if no provision were to be made for the national vanity of the Dorians, it adds that both of their chieftains were slain and the peninsula distributed, under the rule of three descendants of Hercules, into its three great divisions, Argos, Sparta, and Messênê. Thus, although the Dorians became by this conquest the absolute possessors of the Peloponnesus, it was under the control of Heraclid and not Dorian sovereigns, to whom the latter were but subjects and auxiliaries.‡ Could any thing be more probable than such a result in fact? any thing more improbable than the invention of a fiction so uncomplimentary to the inventors?

The defeated Achaians, under the command of Tisamenus, the grandson of Orestes, are said to have retired to the coast of the Corinthian Gulf, and, expelling its Ionian occupants, to have possessed the province known in history as Achaia. This is but a small territory, and could have accommodated but a portion of the exiles. The majority of the race must have removed farther north, probably to their ancient home in Achaia Phthiotis, and thence to the regions northward and westward. Some, it is said, were guided by Penthilus, another

* *Odyssey*, xix., 175–177. † Apollodorus, ii., 3, 8.

‡ The Ætolians are said to have been likewise auxiliaries, and to have received Elis as their share in the partition.—Strabo. x., p. 463.

son of Orestes, through Bœotia and Thessaly to Thrace,* whence a vague and probably inaccurate tradition takes them over into Asia. Other bands of exiles occupied Lesbos and neighboring islands, and spread themselves through the region surrounding the Troad. This is called the great Æolic emigration. The Ionians, expelled from the Gulf of Corinth, took refuge with their kindred in Attica. Hither, likewise, came the Pylians, an Achaian race, driven from Messênê by the Dorians, and their leader Melanthus, according to Athenian tradition, became king over Athens. Under Codrus, his son, Attica became the resort of refugees from all parts of Greece, and, increasing in wealth and power, excited the jealousy of the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, who levied war upon Athens, but without success. One result of this war was, however, what is known as the great Ionic emigration, the departure from Athens of a vast proportion of her population, including the Ionians, the earliest inhabitants of Attica, to colonize the region on the coast of Asia Minor, in historical times known as Ionia. Athens, no longer Ionian or Pelasgian, but Achaian and Hellenic, was now in a position to attain the eminence on which she stands so conspicuously in history. The Dorians, in like manner, extended their dominions beyond the Peloponnesus, colonizing the southern portion of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands.

We have now the map of Greece completely re-formed to correspond with the Greece of history; and, when we contrast this with the map presented by Homer of the Greece of his period, we must feel that nothing less than a series of revolutions and emigrations, similar to those above described, could account for their entire discrepancy. It is difficult to relinquish the traditions on which depends the sole explanation which we can find or devise of the fact that the Greeks of the Homeric period occupied entirely different positions, and were called by different names than the Grecians known in history —or, rather, that, while the names actually continue, they are

* Pausanias, vol. ii., pp. 15, 18.

found in altogether different geographical positions than those to which Homer has assigned them, while the Greeks of history uniformly preserved the traditions of a period when these names were those of their own ancestors. And it is worthy of notice that in no instance did the tradition of any section of Greece glorify heroes of the then existing race, but always of a race whose name had disappeared from their soil. The Athenians, not the Ionians, preserved the legend of Ion; the Bœotians' memories were of Cadmeans, not Bœotians; the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus recounted the glories of Achaians and Danai, not of Dorians. We cannot but recognize that, in the very character of these pre-historic legends, there exists an unconscious testimony to their substantial truth.

When we come to compare the manners and customs, of which Homer has preserved so graphic a picture, with those of Greece as we know it from history, we find a contrast no less remarkable. In every community, absolute authority is vested in a single individual; an authority based partly on hereditary descent, but in most cases requiring to be sustained by the personal qualities which fit the chieftain to be the leader of the people in war as well as their ruler in peace. In the few instances in which the king or basileus has outlived the active exercise of these functions, as in the cases of Peleus and Laertes, he appears generally to have been virtually removed to give place to his more competent son or successor.

Greece appears to have been broken up into a variety of small principalities or hegemonies, which, in case of a grand national war, unite under one of the most powerful as their leader, but are, at other times, independent of one another, and are in their turn subdivided into a variety of inferior suzerainties in a manner not dissimilar to the feudal system of the Middle Ages. The king, though maintaining an unquestioned supremacy, associates on familiar terms with the inferior suzerains; his hospitality is extended to them, and received as a matter of right; this privilege is sometimes abused, when, as in the Odyssey, the chief is absent or supposed dead, and his power represented by those who have not

the strength to maintain it. In camp, or in council, however, the king is all powerful. Although the utmost freedom of speech is permitted to the princes with whom he takes counsel, while they are free to discuss his orders or criticise his decision, that decision, when rendered, receives implicit obedience. As to the masses of the people—the freedmen, laborers, or rank and file of the army—they possess absolutely no rights at all. In the agora they are silent; and even those less eminent among the chiefs, who possess, theoretically, the right of debate, are sometimes driven back with contumely, if they presume to exercise it.* At the same time, the position of the king is not that of the irresponsible despot. A certain responsibility to his people is recognized in the fact that all his decisions are announced to them in public assembly. He holds the boulè, or council of chiefs, with whom he confers, and to whose advice he listens, and the agora, or assembly of the people, in which he announces his decisions, setting forth his reasons in full, and haranguing the masses in such a manner as to insure, if possible, their approbation.

It is to this system of publicity and open dealing with the masses that we may attribute the spirit of loyalty which was so characteristic of Homeric times. The king is spoken of as the father and the shepherd of his people; † he is, moreover, their priest, for, of a separate sacerdotal office, we find no record in the Homeric writings.

In the social life, as exhibited in Homer, we find a simplicity entirely at variance with the state of society in historical Greece. Of the ceremony and state, with which, in subsequent times, authority was habitually hedged around, we find, in these times but few traces. The sovereign took an active part in the public games, and did not even disdain the ordinary manual accomplishments. Ulysses manufactures his own bed and bedchamber; ‡ he builds his own ships; § he challenges Eurymachus to a contest with the plough and the scythe. ‖ Paris,

* See *Iliad*, ii., 200. † *Ποίμην λαων.*

‡ *Odyssey*, xxiii., 188. § *Ibid*, v., 246–255. ‖ *Ib.*, xviii., 366–375.

ike manner, builds his own house. * Ladies of the highest
k are employed in spinning and weaving, and manufacture
only the garments of the family, but the hangings which
stituted the principal furniture of the house. †

The daughters of royal houses draw water at the spring,
l wash their own garments at the river, while they render
distinguished guests such personal services as they might
mselves require from their slaves. Yet these homely and
n menial occupations involve no descent from the dignities
their rank; and it would be difficult to find anywhere a
her tone of courtesy and refinement than is ascribed to
heroes and heroines of Homer.

The moral tone of these ancient communities, in compari-
with those of historic times, presents contrasts as remark-
e as their political and social relations. Personal purity
ɔears to have occupied an altogether higher standard; in
t, nowhere in Homer do we find traces of the all-pervading
es which characterized Greece in what are called more re-
ɔd ages. Modesty was a prominent characteristic in the in-
course of the sexes, accompanied with a respect to women,
women, which finds no parallel prior to the chivalric times of
Middle Ages. Respect for all the family relations is an
ıally noticeable feature; also intense veneration for the
ls, and an especial regard for the rights of hospitality, the
:hange of which would seem to have created a permanent
ınection extending to subsequent generations, as in the
ıe of Glaucus and Diomedes. The right of the fugitive to
asylum is universally recognized, and the host with whom
takes refuge is bound to protect him at the risk of his own
:. On the other hand, we find the protection of life and
ɔperty esteemed of comparatively little value. Homicide
punishable only by the kindred of the deceased, who may
ɛe personal vengeance (which, however, the homicide may
:ape by finding an asylum in another territory), or may ac-
ɔt a fine in satisfaction, and all that the authorities seem

* *Iliad*, vi., 314. † *Odyssey*, iv., 131; xix., 235.

called upon to do in the way of interference is to insure payment of the stipulated fine, and to protect from further *vendetta* the homicide by whom it has been paid.*

In regard to private property, the law appears to have been equally unsettled. The domains of the infant heir, unable to protect his inheritance, are appropriated without scruple by his adult relatives.† Piracy and freebooting, in which even human beings were carried off and sold into slavery, appears to have been an honorable occupation. Ulysses, by no means the least conscientious or law-abiding of the Homeric heroes, wantonly sacks the city of the Ciconians, and deliberately expresses his intention of replenishing his wasted stores by plunder; and the crime of Paris, in carrying away the wife and treasures of Menelaus, is evidently considered to consist wholly in the wrong done to one toward whom he occupied the position of a guest. In many of these respects the heroes of Homer remind us less of their successors, the historical Greeks, than of the robber barons of France and Germany, or of the Highland and border chieftains of a later date.

In their ordinary manners and customs, the difference between pre-historic and historic Greece is equally worthy of notice. The hero of the Iliad fights from his chariot, casting his spear with tremendous force, or hurling fragments of stone of sufficient weight to overwhelm the adversary. The rank and file in like manner rush forward without order or system, and hurl their spears or aim their arrows indiscriminately. We see no instance of the close order and charge in line of the ὁπλῖται of the regular Grecian army. The armor of the warriors was of copper, that of the chiefs richly decorated with gold and silver. Panics appear to have been not uncommon, and the exploits of one mighty chieftain on either side will suffice at times to drive back the entire opposing army.

* Witness the scene depicted on the shield of Achilles (Iliad. xviii., 498), where a suit is represented, the whole issue being whether or not the homicide has paid the stipulated fine.

† *Iliad*, xxii., 487–500.

hey seem to have possessed no means of mastering a walled wn, the only resource being apparently to drive the citizens ithin the walls, and then reduce them by famine. Even hen the defenders of Troy are so utterly reduced as to be nable to take the field against the Greeks, the city continues npregnable, and can be taken only by stratagem. Commeral transactions are carried on by the simple system of barter. hat coined money was not wholly unknown, appears from ne two talents of gold mentioned in the scene of litigation as ne reward of the judge who should utter the most upright ntence.* But the price of every thing, territory, slaves, or mor, is invariably stated as so many oxen. The amusements the chiefs in their leisure hours are the gymnastic contest, nariot racing, the banquet (which is seldom or never allowed present a scene of excess), and the song of the *αοιδοσ* or ard. This bard forms an important feature in all the omeric entertainments. After the demands of hunger are tisfied, it becomes his province to entertain the assembled mpany with legends of gods or exploits of heroes chanted his four-stringed lyre. The bard, however, was far from olding the inferior position of the minstrel in later times, or ven of the rhapsode of the age of Plato.† The bard in prehistoric days was commonly a person of rank. Homer calls im *θειοσ*, and a sanctity attaches to his person almost similar that of the herald. Phemius the bard, and Medon the erald, are alone spared in the slaughter of the suitors; the ard of Agamemnon was a person of sufficient dignity to be ppointed guardian of Clytemnestra. The bards, no doubt, nstituted the educated class of this generation as the epos id its principal literature.

Not being a sea-faring people, like their neighbors the hœnicians, the pre-historic Greeks appear to have possessed ttle knowledge of any other part of the world than that hich lay on either side of the Propontis and the Ægean ea. Egypt they evidently considered extremely remote, for

* *Iliad*, xviii., 507. † *Plato, Apol. Soc.*, ch. vii., p. 22.

Nestor speaks with horror of the risk encountered by Menelaus in undertaking a journey on which even the birds venture only once a year, and Homer's own knowledge of the country may be inferred from the fact that he gives Grecian names* to the king and queen, and that Menelaus, when detained by stress of weather at the mouth of the Nile, is entertained by sovereigns resident at Thebes. Of the regions west of the peninsula, Homer appears to have known nothing, further than may be inferred from his bare mention of the Sikels,† who are supposed to have been the same as the Sicilians. Of the identity of Trinacria, Scylla, and Charybdis, with Sicily and the Straits of Messina, which was assumed by Virgil in the Æneid, there is every reason to doubt. Scylla is located by Homer in the immediate vicinity of the πλαγγαί, or Symplegades, which all mythologies placed at the Thracian or Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Trinacria, lying immediately beyond Scylla, is much more likely to have been suggested by the Crimea, whose triangular outline is still more conspicuous than that of Sicily. We can see from Homer's Odyssey that he considers all the region to the north of the Euxine to have been but a portion of the vast open sea.‡ This is the more remarkable from the evidently very minute knowledge that he possessed of the geography of the regions in the immediate vicinity, and the care which he observes to accurately impress on his hearers the geography of his various localities by expressly indicating the winds which blow the voyager to and from them.

The course of Ulysses's wanderings, as set forth in the Odyssey, and his experiences at the different stations of his journey, present us with a tolerably distinct picture both of the manners of the pre-historic period and of the knowledge of geography possessed both by Homer and his hearers. It has often been a source of perplexity to Homeric students that, in the Mediterranean, a sea which even at an earlier period

* Polybus and Alcandra. † *Odyssey*, xx., 383; xxiv., 210.

‡ Gladstone, vol. iii., p. 280.

had been thoroughly navigated by the Phœnicians, a fleet could be supposed to have been tossed up and down by adverse winds for a period of ten years without at any time making land near enough to Greece to establish any communication therewith. But, if we can infer from indications contained in the poems themselves that the Thalassa of the Greeks of that period was not limited in their imagination to that particular sea, but extended indefinitely through the regions occupied by Northern and Western Europe, broken only by islands and separated by a narrow coast-line from the circumfluent river Ocean, we then find all the elements which would give in the minds of the hearers of that period credibility to the poet's narrative. Ulysses, on his departure from Troy, evidently contemplates a series of predatory excursions into such regions as may lie on his homeward route. He commences by attacking the Ciconians in Thrace, plundering their territory and sacking their city.* To the north of the Ciconians we read of only the Mysians, the Hippomolgi, the Glactophagi, and the Abii, nations, we should infer from their names, more or less akin to the Tartars of Asia. These are all the countries which Jupiter surveys when he turns his eyes from Troy and looks to the north.† When driven away with disaster by the Ciconians, the fleet of Ulysses proceeds without difficulty as far as Cape Malea, but on attempting to double that cape they are driven by a northeast wind to Cythera, and thence out to sea, until after nine days' driving they reach the land of the Lotophagi. This is evidently on the coast of Africa, and when Ulysses, fearing to remain there lest his companions should become spell-bound, puts off to sea, adverse winds drive the fleet to the country of the Cyclops, which is described as a continent having an island divided from it by a narrow strait. This would probably represent Italy and the Strait of Messina. At the land of the Cyclops their first proceedings are predatory, for they take possession of all the flocks, herds, and provisions that they can find, and

* *Odyssey*, ix., 39. † *Iliad*, xiii., 1.

are about to set sail when Ulysses unhappily conceives the idea of visiting the proprietors of the lands. When they have effected their escape from the Cyclops they are driven about by Neptune until they reach Æolia, whose position we can infer only from the fact that Æolus sends them, by the aid of a zephyr or west wind,* and that even under these circumstances it is not until the tenth day that they come in sight of Ithaca. The opening of the bay releases the adverse winds, and Ulysses and his crew are driven back to Æolia, of course by an east or southeast wind, and thence after seven more days to Læstrygonia, which is described as a land of perpetual day, and must, therefore, lie near the northern extremity of the earth. The name of Artacia given to a fountain in this territory is identical with that of a locality on the Euxine, and harmonizes with the idea of a supposed indefinite extension of that sea to the north and west.

From Læstrygonia, Ulysses, with his one remaining ship, is driven to Ææa by a passage of such length and uncertainty that he has by the time of his arrival lost all note of latitude or longitude.† This island is evidently situated far to the eastward, from its name, its occupation by Circe, the daughter of the sun, and its direct association with the land of sunrise,‡ also from the fact that it is within one day's sail of the land of the Cimmerians, the region of perpetual darkness.§ Here their predatory instincts appear to have been checked by their previous experiences, as they simply send a party into the island for purposes of exploration. After undergoing transformation and re-transformation at the hands of Circe, and after remaining her guests for the space of a year, they enter the ocean's mouth near the land of the Cimmerians, whence a northern wind (Boreas) carries them up the stream

* More probably northwest, as Zephyr is in Homer constantly associated with Boreas.—*Iliad*, xxiii., 208.

† *Odyssey*, x., 190, 192. ‡ *Odyssey*, xxii., 1–4.

§ From these incidents it is clear that accounts had been brought to Greece by sailors of a land of perpetual day and another of perpetual night, as these northern regions had been visited in summer or winter.

to the land of the Shades. Returning to Ææa, and sailing thence for Ithaca by an entirely different course from that by which he had been driven thither, not daring, we may suppose, to venture anew into the trackless, open sea, Ulysses passes, at short intervals, the island of the Sirens, the Symplegades, always identified with the Bosphorus, and the Strait of Scylla and Charybdis, which is evidently either identical with the πλαγγαί or in their immediate neighborhood. Virgil subsequently transferred Scylla and Charybdis to the Straits of Messina from the coincidence of those straits containing a rock and a whirlpool, neither of them, however, particularly dangerous, but there is no similarity in detail with the Scylla and Charybdis of Homer's description, and it is difficult to imagine what necessity could, in any event, have required Ulysses to navigate the Straits of Messina at all.

Immediately beyond Scylla he comes to Trinacria or the island of three points or angles, in like manner transferred by Virgil to Sicily, but much more probably intended for the triangular peninsula of the Crimea. Here they are detained for a month by southern and eastern winds—principally southern—showing that their destination was southward, and that Trinacria lay to the north of Ithaca. Having incurred the vengeance of the sun-god, by consuming his favorite oxen, they are tossed about the gulf by a west wind, and are finally driven back to Scylla and Charybdis by a wind blowing *from the south*. Ulysses alone escapes from the ship, which is swallowed by Charybdis, floats on the mast for nine days—presumably still in a northerly direction—until landed in Ogygia, the island of Calypso, styled the central point or navel of the sea.* When ultimately dismissed from Ogygia, he sails on his raft—keeping Arcturus on his left, therefore in an easterly or south-easterly direction—for eighteen days, at the close of which he approaches Scheria. This is ἤπειρος,† a continent or portion of the main-land, and is not far from Hyperea, the land of the Cyclops, as it was from that land

* Ὀμφαλὸς θαλάσσης.—*Odyssey*, i., 50. † *Odyssey*, v., 348, 350.

that the Phæacians migrated thither.* Here Neptune, surveying him from the Solyman mountains, which lay on his homeward route from Ethiopia, sends a hurricane of adverse winds which drives him from the coast and founders his raft, but a north wind carries him, eventually, into Scheria. Here he is hospitably entertained, after the fashion of the times, and is conveyed to Ithaca in a voyage of a single day.†

The state of affairs which Ulysses finds existing in Ithaca is singularly characteristic of a very primitive period. The princes of Ithaca and the neighboring islands have come to seek the hand of Penelope in marriage; and, though plainly assured that they are unwelcome, remain, self-invited, in the domain of Ulysses, living at his expense, wasting his substance, and leading a life of riot unparalleled in any other part of the Homeric poems. When commanded to depart, they positively refuse so to do until Penelope shall make her choice among them. Notwithstanding the lawlessness of their conduct, these men, with the xception of the brutal Antinous, maintain, while sober, the same high-bred courtesy which distinguishes most of the heroes of the Homeric poems; but, a sign of the degeneracy in manners which had already commenced, their feasts not unfrequently conclude in fits of drunkenness, in which they wrangle and hurl tripods and stools at any party who offends them. On these intruders, Ulysses, on his return, executes summary justice. The agora is assembled by the fathers of the slain princes, who demand satisfaction for the deaths of their sons. The agora sustains Ulysses, but—a proof of its really slight influence—the chiefs refuse to abide by its decision, and a bloody war ensues, in which they are, of course, vanquished.

These closing incidents in the Odyssey go far to show that, even at this period, although the harshness of their tone had somewhat abated, morals and manners had already sunk to a lower level than at the time of the Trojan War. This impression is confirmed by Hesiod, who, writing at a period sub-

* *Odyssey*, vi., 4, *et seq.* † *Ib.*, xiii., *et seq.*

sequent to Homer, draws a most melancholy picture of the state of public morals in his day. How far this decadence had to do with the final overthrow of the Achaian race and the establishment of the Dorians in their place, can, of course, be only matter of conjecture.

One remarkable point of contrast which the heroic ages present to the historic times is in the influence exerted by the oracles. These, with their concomitant, the Amphictyonic synod, were the most influential of all the institutions of historic Greece; and this influence was in its fullest force at the very time when recognized history commences. In the Homeric poems, on the contrary, we find little more than a bare recognition of their existence, and no intimation whatever that they were institutions of general resort. Here, as in other respects, considerable progress is made in the interval between the poems. Of Dodona, in the Iliad, we learn only so much as is mentioned by Achilles in his invocation.* It is a Pelasgic institution—it is sacred to Jove, it is distant, it is winter-bound—and is directed by the Helli, ministers who never wash their feet, and who sleep upon the ground. Of Pytho, the seat of the Delphic oracle, we are told still less. It is mentioned here incidentally as a temple of Apollo, and the storehouse of untold treasures.† But in the Odyssey both of these temples have become the seats of oracles. Visits to them, however, appear even at that time to have been of rare occurrence. Ulysses pretends to have consulted the oracle at Dodona,‡ and Agamemnon is represented as having received a sign at Pytho;§ but these are evidently exceptional incidents. Of the existence of an Amphictyonic synod we find no traces whatever, nor of any tribunal which acted as umpire between the different states.

When we contrast this picture of Greece in pre-historic ages with that of Greece as we find it in history—independent and absolute monarchies with republics federated by a

* *Iliad*, xvi., 233–235.
† *Ib.*, ix., 404.
‡ *Odyssey*, xiv., 327.
§ *Ib.*, iii., 80.

common Amphictyony; a religion almost patriarchal, in which each chief was, as it were, priest of his own class, with a ritual the most elaborate, and a sacerdotal class holding peculiar privileges; a warfare in which each warrior fought on his own account, with a military system of the most complete organization; authorized piracy and freebooting, with an established and recognized law of nations—at the same time that we contrast a tone of moral purity, and a refinement and geniality of social intercourse, with a society essentially vicious, and habits of social life almost oriental in their exclusiveness, we find it difficult to believe that changes so radical can have been effected by the gradual process of years without other and more controlling influences being at work to facilitate them.

We find the commencement of these, no doubt, in the great Dorian invasion, which brought an essentially new people, possessing, however, a considerable blending of the old stock in their Heracleid leaders and allies, into the heart of Greece, and breaking up the old houses, gradually redistributed the Hellenes in new territories, free to form new combinations and establish new institutions. That this reformation was the work of time is evident from the long period in which Grecian history presents an unwritten page. The overthrow of old institutions was, probably, rapid; the growth of new ones undoubtedly slow.

A further question remains to be solved as to the fate of the descendants of heroes who, with their families and institutions, disappeared so suddenly from the page of history. Tradition has partially answered these questions in accounts of the migration under Penthilus and the great Æolic migration. These traditions but imperfectly account for their disappearance, for the Greek inhabitants of Asiatic regions, as we find them in history, have as little in common with their heroic ancestors as the inhabitants of the Peninsula. The question still remains: Can we find nowhere in the neighborhood of Greece a people possessing substantially Grecian characteristics, a people akin to the Hellenes in

language, religion, and traditions, but in laws, manners, and customs, entirely differing from the modern Greeks, and closely resembling the people described in the Homeric poems?

Such a people we unquestionably find in the inhabitants of Macedonia, a region closely adjoining Thrace, to which Penthilus is said to have conducted the Peloponnesian emigrants. The Macedonians reckoned their ancestors among the sons of Pelasgus, the earliest traditional Peloponnesian sovereign; their royal family was called Teminidæ, i. e., descendants of that Temenus who led the Heraclidæ with the Dorians into Peloponnesian Argos.* They claimed as their ancestor a brother of the Heracleid king, Pheidon, who fled from the Peninsula on account of a quarrel with the Dorian leaders. They were also called Argeadæ, or natives of Argos, and their first settlement was called Orestis,† a name peculiarly honored by the Peloponnesian Achaians. When we meet with them in history they still preserve monarchical institutions‡ of a character strongly resembling the monarchies in the Iliad. Here, as in Homer's time, the king led his people to war, judged them in peace, maintained an intimate daily association with the leading families among his subjects, who accompanied him on expeditions of war, and shared the dangers of the conflict and the honors of victory. They were given to predatory warfare, and their home-life was passed in hunting rather than in more domestic pursuits. They were fond of the banquet, and drunkenness and violence were not uncommon among them. In all these respects the Macedonian type was much ruder and less civilized than that of the antique hero—it lacked the element of refinement as it lacked the wealth. This was the inevitable result of an association for centuries with the semi-barbarous Illyrians and Thra-

* Herodotus, vol. viii., p. 137. † Curtius, vol. v., p. 25.

‡ "As in the heroic age, so with the Macedonians, the king was supreme judge, military commander-in-chief, and high priest; but he was no master over the people, according to the oriental fashion, no despot before whom all other rights vanish."—Curtius, vol. v., p. 21.

cians, but the exploits of Philip and Alexander show that in the Macedonian character existed to the full the elements of the ancient Homeric hero.

The Macedonians, like their prototypes, excelled in horsemanship; their chief wealth consisted in flocks and herds; they maintained a sitting posture at the table; their women mingled freely in social intercourse, and in the higher classes even concerned themselves with intrigues of state. But a most significant point of resemblance between this remarkable people and the pre-historic Grecians exists in their proper names. Here we find all the ancient names of heroes, which in Greece proper disappear with the heroic ages. Orestes, Alexander, Thebe, Eurydice, Amyntas, Jason, all names which in Greece had been consigned to a remote mythology, all reappear in Macedonia, and are in common use. Does it not appear as though the Macedonians might well be the true descendants of the Achaian heroes who ruled in Peloponnesus?

History and tradition both guide us in this conjecture. Polybius, as we have seen, mentions Achaians in Thessaly. Tradition carries the largest emigration of the Peloponnesian exiles through Bœotia and Thessaly into Thrace, but for some inconceivable reason, probably connected with the Æolic immigration, it then carries them across the Bosphorus into Asia. Macedonian tradition in like manner brought in the Temenidæ through Bœotia and Illyria.* We are, therefore, not without grounds for supposing that in the people of Macedonia we have discovered the descendants of the pre-historic heroes.

On such a supposition how wonderfully has the revolving cycle of centuries brought around the work of justice. These ancient Achaians, expelled from their homes, lost in the hills of Macedon, and known among the later Greeks by the contemptuous term barbarians, were in their turn to effect the greatest and most complete revolution of all that Greece had

* Herodotus, vol. viii., p. 137.

undergone, to unite the entire peninsula under one kingship in which Athens and Sparta, Thebes and Corinth were alike to bow their heads under the sceptre of a Macedonian chief, and were to follow the successor of that chief to create an empire the vastest and most glorious that the world had yet seen, and to establish a renown beside which the glories of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Diomedes grow pale, and the war of Troy fades into insignificance.

ART. VI.—1. *Sytema Naturæ, sivi regna tria naturæ, systemacè proposita, per classes, ordines, genera et species* (*System of Nature;* or, *The Three Kingdoms of Nature, arranged by Classes, Orders, Genera, and Species*). LINNÆUS. 8vo.

2. *De Analogia inter Plantas et Anamalia* (*The Analogy between Plants and Animals*). FRANCOIS-JOSEPH DE JUSSIEU. 12mo.

3. *Le Monde Végétable.* LOUIS FIGUIER.

OUR object in the present article is a very simple one. We only want to show that there is no good reason why the principal streets in our large cities, which are occupied chiefly, or wholly, by private residences, should be so bare—so entirely unsuggestive of the country—so oblivious of Nature—almost ignoring the vegetable kingdom—as they are. This requires no elaborate arguments. That it should require any arguments, in the minds of intelligent people, may well be regarded as an anomaly.

But, even in the most enlightened age, ideas are slow in their progress; what is stranger still, the public is tardy in adopting them in proportion as they are useful. No knowledge receives less attention than that which most closely concerns our own health and personal well-being. This indifference, or carelessness, is often shared even by the most profound scientists, who, while their investigations extend to

the bounds of the universe, so far as it can be said to have such, scarcely take any notice of what is passing around them, or of the manner in which they are affected, themselves, by external nature.

No one, claiming to possess ordinary intelligence at the present day, would venture to say that most kinds of trees are not merely beautiful and ornamental, but exercise a salutary influence on animal life, and on no animal more than on man. The intimate relations between the animal and vegetable kingdoms are well understood. There can be no more beautiful or more interesting study than those relations. And, by the aid of the microscope, the pleasure derived from them is enhanced a hundred-fold. Yet, how few of the denizens of our larger cities take the trouble to plant a tree! It is otherwise, however, with those of them who have farms, or country seats. Because they spend two or three months, at most, in the country, they often take much pains in planting trees there, where, in general, there is already an abundance, while it scarcely occurs to them how much their city residence, in which they spend three-fourths of their life, would be both benefited and adorned by even one or two trees.

In all the great cities of antiquity it was different. Tyre and Sidon, and Thebes and Memphis, as well as Athens, Rome, and Carthage, had each their beautifully shaded streets. The same is true of all the famous cities of India and Persia. It is not the historian, however, who chiefly gives us this information; it is too trifling a matter for him—too home-like. He has much more to do with what destroys life than with what tends to render it agreeable, and consequently to lengthen it.

To the poets we are indebted for most of our knowledge as to what constituted the chief attractions of cities now no more. They enlighten us in regard to cities, the very sites of which are unknown. The narrow limits of the present article preclude us from quoting illustrations. Otherwise we might commence with David and Solomon, whose heavenly aspirations did not prevent them from appreciating what Nature

could do for their earthly abodes. More than once Moses represents life as a tree. We read also of "the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil," and nowhere is Milton more poetical than in the passage of the fourth book of Paradise Lost in which he describes the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge.

Among the Hebrews the Palm-tree was an object of veneration. It was used on their earliest coins as the symbol of Judea. More recently it was regarded as the emblem of righteousness, and as such it was engraved on the doors of the Temple. Nor was the Palm less appreciated by the Egyptians. This is sufficiently proved by the columns of ruined edifices still found in Upper Egypt, which were hewn so many thousands of years ago, in imitation of the trunk of the Palm. As for the Cedar of Lebanon, it is referred to with admiration in almost every book of the Old Testament.*

The shade of the Fig-tree was highly prized throughout the East, but especially among the Hebrews. Every Israelite was held to be safe "*under his own Fig-tree.*" This was as much an apothegm in Judea in the time of its greatest glory as the familiar expression, "a man's house is his castle," is to-day in England and America. It is sufficiently evident that it was not for its fruit the Fig-tree was thus highly prized, but for the shade it afforded, although the fruit also was fully appreciated. But what we want to invite particular attention to is, that even the poorest Israelite was supposed to have a *Fig-tree of his own.*†

* Those wishing to recall the feeling with which the Palm, the Cedar, and other trees of kindred character were regarded, and chiefly for their beauty and the grateful shade which they afforded, may turn to the following passages: Ex., xv., 27; Sol. Song, vii., 7; Jer., x., 5; Ps., i., 3; Ezek., xxxi., 3, 6, 8, and xli., 19.

† Let those who think that we exaggerate the esteem in which the Fig-tree was held by the Hebrews, partly for the shade it afforded, partly for its beauty and its vitality, and partly as an index of the flight of time, and of the change of seasons, turn to the following passages in their most ancient records: Gen. iii., 7; Isa., xxxvi., 16; Jer., xxiv., 2; Sol. Song, ii., 13.

Nothing suggests to Homer more beautiful allusions than the family residence, whether in town or country, protected from the burning rays of the sun by a stately tree. There is scarcely one of the noble dramas of Æschylus, Euripides, or Sophocles, in which the same love for the friendly shade of spreading branches does not find eloquent and beautiful expression. Of all that Martial has written, no hemistich is so often quoted as that in which he compliments a friend by describing his residence at Rome, as "a country house in the midst of the city."

Rus in urbe est.

Nor is the fact different in modern times. In all the great cities of Europe, the streets occupied by the wealthy might be distinguished at the present day—were there nothing else to indicate them—by the number of shade-trees which adorn them. And if the curious traveller will only make inquiries in passing, he will, in general, find that, just in proportion as those who are wealthy are, also, intelligent, and acquainted with the laws of their being, do they evince a love for the cultivation of trees about their residences.

It is a remarkable fact that the ancient habit of cultivating shade-trees in large cities had almost ceased in the Middle Ages. Stately trees shading the residences of their owners had become almost as scarce as fine pieces of sculpture, or fine paintings. Not only were few or none planted, but those that had flourished for many generations were torn down. It was not until the time of Linnæus that a reaction took place. There was thus a Renaissance in nature as well as in art. The great Swedish naturalist did all in his power to revive the good custom. Understanding human nature sufficiently to know that the wealthy must be influenced by other means than the principles of science, he wrote an essay in which he showed that the trunks of trees found in Herculaneum and Pompeii shed more light on the characters of the upper classes of the citizens than any other existing means, with the sole exception of the arts of the sculptor and engraver.

But, in speaking of what has been humorously called the "Shady Renaissance," we must not overlook the efforts of other great botanists in the same direction, especially Magnol, Bernard de Jussieu, and Adanson. Although Buffon and Cuvier devoted comparatively little attention to the vegetable kingdom, both found time to study it sufficiently to be convinced that animal life is much more dependent on vegetable life than even the most intelligent portion of the public was aware. It is worthy of remark that it was the views of these two great naturalists on the subject of cultivating shade-trees in cities, in corroboration of those of Linnæus, which made the late King of Saxony a botanist; and the same circumstances will serve to explain the fact that no other cities in Europe are so much in the *rus in urbe* style as those of Saxony.

But, of all our modern thinkers, no one has exerted himself more to encourage the cultivation of trees in the immediate vicinity of our residences, whether in city or country, than Wilhelm von Humboldt. He studied the ruined cities of Mexico, Peru, and Chili, in the same spirit that Linnæus did Herculaneum and Pompeii. And what does Humboldt tell us in regard to our present subject? "Trees," he says, "have about them something beautiful and attractive, even to the fancy, since they cannot change their places, are witnesses of all the changes that take place around them; and, as some reach a great age, they become, as it were, historical monuments, and, like ourselves, they have a life, growing and passing away—not being inanimate and unvarying like the fields and rivers. One sees them passing through various stages, and at last, step by step, approaching death, which makes them look still more like ourselves." *

Nor is this the only sense in which it may be said that the tree which protects us by its friendly shade is "like ourselves." Kützing, one of the most eminent physiologists of the present day, maintains, with excellent reason, that "every organic

* *Letter*, i., p. 71.

being is *constituted of vegetable and animal elements*, and, according as one or the other prevails, the being *becomes an animal or a vegetable.*" As to trees becoming "historical monuments," the expression will seem hyperbolical to those who have not given much attention to the subject; it is, however, no exaggeration, but a fact, to the truth of which hundreds can testify. There are trees in California which, according to the estimates of the best vegetable physiologists who have examined them, cannot be less than 2,000 years old—some maintaining that they are 3,000 years. As none of the great authorities on vegetable physiology have had an opportunity of seeing the California giants, many regard the above statement as partaking of the Munchausen character. But no such objection can be made to the estimated age of the famous Chestnut-tree of Mount Etna. M. Figuier closes his description of the latter thus: "If we are to suppose that each year its concentric layers have only been a line in thickness, this venerable tree would not be less than 3,600 to 4,000 years old." *

Even when man used to live, as we are told in the Bible, to be nearly a thousand years, we are not informed by any naturalist, ancient or modern, that any animal, even the elephant or the mammoth, lived to be as old as this chestnut-tree. It is sufficient to say of its dimensions that we have the testimony of the most eminent scientists of the present day that its trunk, now entirely hollow with age, is 160 feet in circumference.

But what concerns us most in our present discussion is not how large trees may grow, or how long they may live, but what influence are they capable of exercising on our health, what are we to learn from them, how are we to be interested by them. In all these relations our subject is full of interest.

At the same time, no one who reflects can be indifferent to such immense longevity and such enormous size, although we cannot pause here to ponder upon either. Suffice it to say, in

* *Le Monde Végétable—Corylaceæ.*

passing, that man is but as the butterfly in length of life and size, compared to those giants, which continue to increase in strength and dimensions for thousands of years. But the latter are interesting and instructive in various other respects. Nor shall we require the reader to be satisfied with our own views in proof of this, although, having spent our boyhood days almost exclusively in the vegetable kingdom, and always taken a deep interest in the chief phenomena which it presents, we might claim, without affectation, to have gleaned some knowledge of the subject. We could, for instance, tell the reader, from our own experience, that, "If Nature had endowed us with microscopic powers of sight, and if the integuments of plants were transparent, the vegetable kingdom would *by no means* present *that aspect of immobility and repose* under which *it appears to our senses;*" but these just quoted are the words of Humboldt.

We trust it is not necessary to quote Humboldt, or Linnæus, or Jussieu, or De Candolle, to satisfy our readers that trees exhibit the phenomena of respiration and circulation, as well as exhalation, corresponding with those of animals. No one can consider himself intelligent who is not aware of these facts. It is needless, therefore, for us to discuss them here. But it may not be superfluous to present an observation or two in regard to respiration, as it has a direct bearing on the object of our article. For the same reason that we have quoted Humboldt above, we quote another authority here. "But the respiration of plants," says M. Figuier, "is not always the same, like that of animals, in which carbonic-acid gas, water, and vapor, are exhaled *without cessation, either by day or night.* Plants possess *two modes of respiration*, one diurnal, in which the leaves *absorb* the carbonic acid of the air, *decompose this gas*, and *extract* the oxygen, while the carbon remains in the tissues; the other nocturnal, and *the reverse*, in which the plant absorbs the oxygen and extracts the carbonic acid, that is to say, *they breathe in the same manner that animals do.*"*

* *Le Monde Végétable*, 8vo., Paris, p. 198.

But that trees (plants) breathe is not merely what we ask the owner of every house in the private streets in our large cities to remember, but that they breathe in a manner which is favorable to animal life, especially to human life. In illustration of this, we extract another brief passage: "The diurnal respiration of plants, which pours into the air considerable quantities of oxygen gas, happily *compensates* for the effects of animal respiration, which produces carbonic acid, injurious to the life of man. Plants (trees) *purify the air* injured by the respiration of men and animals. If animals transform the oxygen of the air into carbonic acid, *plants take this carbonic acid back again by their diurnal respiration.*"*

These are facts which are beyond dispute; few facts in the whole range of the natural sciences are more important in a hygienic point of view; yet how few are influenced by them, or even think of them, more than if they were things in which man can have no interest! Need we say that, for one who bestows a moment's thought on the influence of trees, or plants, on human life, there are ninety-nine who are quite enthusiastic and elaborate in their attention to what they are told is taking place, or may take place, on the planet Jupiter, or on the mountains of the moon?

But, even of those who admit that trees in our streets are ornamental as well as useful, many object to them on account of the trouble they give, the money they cost, and the harm they may do, etc. In general, these are merely the excuses that people without energy, resolution, or enterprise, make to themselves in order to maintain their self-respect. At all events, the trouble is but slight; it consists chiefly in finding an intelligent, honest gardener, one who understands vegetable physiology. Still slighter is the pecuniary expense, if estimated in proportion to the pleasure it may afford and the good it may accomplish. We have taken sufficient interest in the subject to inquire what the proximate expense would be, and have been assured, by one of the best gardeners in New York,

* *Le Monde Végétable*, 8vo., Paris, p. 198.

that the total cost for each tree planted on our sidewalks would not, on an average, exceed $10. This would include railing, without which it would be useless to plant it.

And here we have, at a glance, the secret of the discouraging failures which many have experienced in their efforts to carry out the views of Linnæus, Humboldt, and Jussieu. They have overlooked the fact that whittling is, unfortunately, a very common vice among our rising generation; they have also forgotten that it is a very common habit among thoughtless men to use even the newly planted tree as a hitching-pole for their horses. There are but few who bear in mind that, as the tree, like the animal, exhibits the phenomenon of exhalation, respiration, and circulation, so is the tree, like the animal, capable of being wounded, more or less seriously. As the animal is liable to receive a fatal wound, so is the tree; nay, more, as the former is capable of contracting disease from bad treatment, and as the disease so contracted may, and often does, prove fatal in the one case, so it may in the other!

As to the harm the tree may do when it grows up, or, rather, when it becomes so old that it will fall—this is looking for danger far in advance; it amounts to pretty nearly the same as if one fears that he shall be hurt in his grave after his bones have mouldered into dust. We have recently had a conversation on the subject with a gentleman who is much more wealthy than philosophical or logical. He was quite ready to laugh at those who are afraid that they shall be hurt in their grave, but asked, with a very long face, "Supposing the tree were struck with lightning—mightn't even a branch of it tear down my house?" Our only reply was, "Supposing your house were struck with lightning—might not the result be as bad as if the tree had been struck?" After some slight cogitation he fully assented to this, but added that it would be necessary to see that no branch of a tree planted on the sidewalk, near one's house, should be allowed to become unduly heavy, lest it might fall, by its own weight, and crush all that came in its way! It is just such arguments as this against planting shade-trees that Goethe alludes to when he sarcastically says that

care is taken by certain folks that trees do not reach too near heaven—

"Es ist dafür gesorgt, das die Bäume nicht in den Himmel wachsen."

But it is not sufficient to convince some of those who have ample means that shade-trees are not only ornamental—that they exercise an important hygienic influence on the atmosphere of the house beside which they stand. This being conceded, a new difficulty presents itself. What sort of tree is the best for the purpose? The gentleman thinks the Maple very good; the lady is sure the Poplar would be much better; the daughter, who has been studying botany at one of our learned seminaries, is certain that the Weeping Ash (the *Fraxinus pendula* of Linnæus) is just the thing; the son claims that his preceptor in botany, at a certain famous college, knows better than anybody else, and that his favorite shade-tree is the Elm (*Ulmus*). The dispute waxes warm, and the mater-familias, being a pious lady, proposes to refer the matter to their pastor, who strongly recommends the Cedar of Lebanon. Pater-familias suggests that the Cedar may grow too large, and asks, Is not Lebanon a mountain? Without waiting to answer, the good pastor remarks that, perhaps, upon the whole, the best tree would be the Palm; and, before any one has time to object, he takes up the Bible and reads, verse after verse, in proof of the superior virtues of the Palm as a household tree. Finally, the family physician is consulted, and the conclusion he arrives at is, that there are only two trees which he could feel justified in recommending as favorable to health, namely, the Pine and the Oak.

The truth is that, with the exception of the Palm and the Cedar of Lebanon, neither of which is adapted to our climate, almost any of the trees mentioned would answer the purpose. For our own part, however, we should, in general, prefer the Lombardy Poplar (*Populus dilatata*). The Chestnut (*Castanea vulgaris*) is also very suitable, except its large development, under favorable circumstances, be regarded as objectionable.

The Weeping Willow (*Salix Babylonica*) is weird and beautiful in form, and is easily cultivated in our climate, but its sombre, melancholy-inspiring aspect confines it principally, like its relative the Cypress, to the churchyard. In short, it may be said of shade-trees, as of men and women, that there are none of them so perfect, both in form and character, that they can please all tastes. But we do not hesitate to say, as the result of our observation and experience, that the trees which are calculated to please the largest variety of tastes are the Lombardy Poplar and the Pine (*Pinus sylvestris*). These have been favorites in all ages, and in every enlightened country; it is they which Horace describes, in one of his finest lyrics, as entwining their branches lovingly, and forming a grateful shade!

> Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
> *Umbram hospitalem* consociare amant
> *Ramis.**

We have already intimated how much depends on the manner in which a tree is planted. This is true of planting, no matter where it is done—whether in country or city; but in the latter the manner is all-important for many reasons. The unskilful gardener, who knows nothing of vegetable physiology, or any other physiology, bestows but little thought, if any, on the roots of the shade-tree. He is quite as likely to injure them or so arrange, or rather disarrange, them in the earth, that they will become stunted; and, if the roots be stunted, so will the stem, so will the branches, and even the leaves. In a word, it is of the greatest importance that the roots should be enabled to penetrate as deep, and extend as wide, as possible, for it is only in proportion as they do so, that the tree is healthy or favorable to the health of man. Nor is this the only sense in which it is essential that the planting be done in a scientific manner. It should be remembered that Mrs. Thrale indulges in no mere jingle of words, in her "Three Warnings," or does not merely draw a fine

* *Ode*, ii., 3, 9.

simile from the vegetable kingdom to describe, with peculiar force, one of the strongest feelings of human nature, but enunciates an important scientific fact, in the well-known lines:

> "The tree of *deepest root* is found
> *Least willing* still to *quit the ground.*"

ART. VII.—1. *Judgment of the Court of Appeals in the Tweed Case.*

2. *Letter of Mr. Charles O'Conor, reviewing the Judgment of the Court of Appeals, etc.*

WHEN the New York Court of Appeals, by its decision liberating William M. Tweed from the confinement to which the just sentence of the Court of Oyer and Terminer had consigned him, established the law to be, that successive punishments could in no case be legally inflicted under one indictment for separate misdemeanors, the public, while regretting the result, may be supposed to have assumed that, as the law at present stood, it was inevitable, and to have consoled itself with the apothegm—trite and perpetually misapplied—"*Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*" From this consolation, poor as it was, we were destined to be rudely awakened. The recent correspondence between Chief Justice Davis and Mr. Charles O'Conor has awakened the public mind to the fact that, in the liberation of Tweed under writ of habeas corpus, the law, as established by previous decisions of the court of last resort, has been as effectually reversed as the principles of justice.

The events, which gave rise to the correspondence which is before us, are of too recent date to require more than the enumeration. The peculations and spoliations of the Tweed Ring are not likely to be forgotten while we are still suffering from the increased taxation which has resulted from them. The system of plunder had increased to such an extent that at last even the mask of honesty was considered superfluous; and the wholesale robbery to which we were subjected had aroused some of our journals—the National Quarterly among the first

—to the necessity of a calm and patient investigation of the facts. The result was an accumulation of evidence against the Ring leaders which was insurmountable; and, accordingly, Tweed and some of his accomplices were brought to trial and convicted. Unfortunately, in the case of Tweed, the facts which could be brought home to him amounted, in the eye of the law, to misdemeanors only. The number of these misdemeanors, however, was legion; and for fifty-one of them he was brought to trial on a single indictment, and convicted of them all. For a single offence of this sort the utmost punishment allowed by law is one year's imprisonment, and a fine of $250. But the successive or accumulative sentences pronounced upon Tweed for the misdemeanors of which he had been convicted, amounted to twelve years' imprisonment and upwards of twelve thousand dollars fine.

It is to be remarked that the culprit did not except to the jurisdiction of the court, or to its power to try a series of misdemeanors under one indictment, or to pass successive or cumulative sentences. Neither did he appeal from the judgment of the court, nor seek to obtain a review of its decision in the Court of Appeals by writ of error. On the contrary, he passed a year in prison, paid the first imposed fine of $250, and then sued out a writ of habeas corpus, claiming to be discharged. The courts of inferior jurisdiction all ruled adversely to his claim; but the judges of the court of last resort broadly reversed their decision, and discharged the criminal, boldly pronouncing the sentences under which he was committed absolute nullities, except the first, which he had expiated, and placing him beyond the reach of legal punishment for any of the fifty misdemeanors of which he had been convicted.

The importance of this decision cannot be overestimated. The judgment of the Court of Oyer and Terminer is not reversed, as it might have been on a writ of error brought by Tweed, placing him in the same position as if he had never been convicted, and leaving him to take the chances of a new trial. On the contrary, the judgment, as Mr. O'Conor justly remarks, stands unreversed, and in full force; and, while the

sentence is by this decision rendered a nullity, so that the criminal may go at large with impunity, subject only to his civil liabilities for the moneys that he has appropriated, his former conviction remains an absolute bar to any future prosecution for the same offences. Thus the law itself, so far from being a weapon to deter or punish the offender, has become, in fact, an instrument for his protection.

The opinions delivered by the judges of the Court of Appeals, while failing to cite any authorities for their decision on the question of jurisdiction, were assumed to be sustained by arguments adduced by Mr. Charles O'Conor in the discussion of a similar question before the same court some years previously. From this argument Judge Allen in his published opinion quoted extensively; and these quotations coming under the eye of Judge Davis, he was induced to communicate directly with Mr. O'Conor, inquiring why, if such an argument had been presented by him, the opportunity of consid ering it had not been afforded to Judge Davis himself while the Tweed Case was still under advisement; and subjoining the inquiry whether he entertained, at the time of Tweed's trial, a belief that, in pronouncing the cumulative sentences, the Court of Oyer and Terminer exceeded its jurisdiction. This communication has elicited the letter which we are now called upon to consider.

Mr. O'Conor commences by calling attention to the fact that the criminal in question has

> "thrice bearded public justice in that high tribunal whose voice is law, and, on each occasion, has received its award that, as against him or his, the weapons devised by the people's advocates were vain and hurtless,"

and adds the apt suggestion that, if the patience of the public prosecutor shall hold out sufficiently long, this generation may expect to witness throughout its allotted term

> "periodically recurring proofs how thick-witted the people's lawyers are, and how admirably astute, in the same uniform direction toward impunity, the judges of the last resort are, when dealing with peculators."

He then proceeds briefly to review the events of the last few years, culminating in the effort of a portion of the community to bring Tweed and his confederates to justice. To a sketch of the wholesale system of peculation which prevailed prior to 1871, he adds a terse and pointed enumeration of the different varieties of leaders who, at that time, conducted political affairs, introducing sketches which possess a vivacity that almost suggests actual portraiture:

"Some were bold defiers of moral sentiment, who regarded success as a consecrator, robbed the public almost without attempting concealment, and lived in open violation of common decency; others were *sneak-thieves*, who enriched themselves secretly; *still another class were content with moderate pecuniary gains, and the enjoyment of respectable positions, wherein, actually deceiving others and possibly, to some extent, deceiving themselves, they exhibited a propriety of deportment which saved the Government from fatal unpopularity.*"

Some think that, at least, a part of this is aimed at poor Oakey Hall. If so, how cruel O'Conor is! But the inflexible jurist proceeds to give a brief account of some of the test-suits instituted in the name of the State against the parties concerned in the perpetration of the principal frauds on the community. The first was brought against Tweed, Ingersoll, and others, for the theft of six millions of dollars, by means of county bonds issued under the Special Audit Act. This was a claim on which it is generally admitted that the city corporation had no authority to sue. The investiture of the county, which Mr. O'Conor designates as "a local entity of very narrow and limited powers" with corporate functions, he holds to have been the result of inadvertence or of some evil design. It was not legally entitled to money or property of any sort, except by some statutory grant expressly made to it. The Special Audit Act had conferred upon it an authority to impose a tax for the re-payment of these bonds, and could have been compelled by the Supreme Court of the United States to levy such a tax when needful, but it had no right to any part of the stolen money which, if recovered or refunded, could have been lawfully disposed of by the State authorities only.

Moreover, the only persons injured by the theft were the

unknown and as yet unascertainable tax-payers who would be obliged to reimburse the bondholders whenever this special tax should be levied. Of these future tax-payers, the Court of Appeals, itself, held that the local entity, called the county, was not the proper representative. It naturally seemed to the people's counsel that the State represented them, and was the proper party to sue in their behalf. Yet the Court of Appeals, in the suit against Tweed and Ingersoll, held that the county alone could sue, and allowed Ingersoll's demurrer, thereby discharging him from the suit!

In the second case, the question on which the court and the State's advocate differed, was so simple, that, as Mr. O'Conor pointedly remarks, "it is difficult to find an excuse for the party that erred." By an act passed in 1870, Comptroller Connolly was authorized to issue bonds of the City Corporation, for a certain purpose, to the extent of $50,000. Connolly issued bonds for ten times the amount, and paid the proceeds over to Fields. A suit was brought against the latter by the State, in which the city corporation was made a co-defendant, on the ground that its officers fraudulently colluded with Fields, and neglected to prosecute for the money. A judgment obtained in the lower court was reversed on appeal to the court of last resort, Judge Folger delivering the opinion which Mr. O'Conor tersely describes in the following language:

"It concurs in all the positions of the State's counsel, save one. Admitting the original wrong as alleged, admitting that the fraud and collusion of the city officials was fully established for all necessary purposes, and further admitting that the judgment in that case, if permitted to stand, would protect Fields from any claim by the city, he held, nevertheless, that the State could not sustain its recovery. *The same judges who concurred in the Tweed–Ingersoll case concurred in this opinion and made it a judgment.*"

Mr. O'Conor comes now to the third and most important decision; the discharge of Tweed under writ of habeas corpus, which has elicited the present correspondence. Of this transaction, we have already given a brief account. We proceed to the use made by the Court of Appeals of the argu-

ment of the eminent jurist, whose letter is before us, and we cannot do better than follow his example, and quote the language of Justice Allen, in citing that argument. This is the mode in which it is introduced:

"Eminent counsel claim *with great plausibility and show of reason* that the rule permitting the trial of a person for several offences at the same time *is not authoritatively established, and that it ought not to be.*"

Here we have two important admissions at the outset—one, that such a rule has hitherto been regarded as existing; the other, that the only question with regard to its existence is, whether or not it has been *authoritatively established.* This, it will be observed, concedes the fact that there have never been any decisions adverse to the rule, and would appear to imply that former decisions had tacitly *assumed* its existence if they had not authoritatively recognized it. The learned justice proceeds:

"I cannot do better than to quote literally from the brief of Mr. O'Conor before referred to, and adopt his language, for the reason that he very clearly and tersely expresses the position and the argument in support of it, and which I deem worthy of consideration."

Citing the argument of any counsel, however deservedly eminent, in the place usually reserved for the actual decisions of the tribunals which authoritatively declare the law, will impress the reader as a novelty, to say the least. The argument of council expresses at the most his individual view of the law, and the weight to which it is entitled is simply that which his own rank at the bar, and in the estimation of the court, would attach to it—in the present instance, undoubtedly the very highest. But the object of the fairest and most impartial counsel is necessarily to present to the court the particular view of the law which is in the interest of his own client, for the reason that his business is not to administer justice, but to secure the rights of the party whom he represents. It must be rarely, then, that an argument of counsel can be considered to present a full and complete exposition of the law viewed from an independent stand-point; but, conceding the utmost that can be claimed for such an argument, it is

still only an *exposition* of the law; not an official and authoritative *declaration* which *establishes* the law until it shall be overruled by the same or a superior court. We shall presently perceive how forcibly this distinction is recognized, by the eminent counsel himself, in his letter to Justice Davis.

It may, in any case, be assumed that the citing of the brief of counsel as authority for pronouncing an official decision, implies, if it does not admit, the total absence of any authoritative decisions sustaining the point which is sought to be established. Let us now look at the facts, and ascertain whether there are not in existence actual decisions of this very tribunal deciding the point raised on the issue in Tweed's writ of habeas corpus, and deciding it adversely to the present ruling.

The argument cited by Mr. Justice Allen was delivered, as Mr. O'Conor tells us, before the Court of Appeals in the case of Philo Johnson *vs.* The Hudson River Railroad Company, in September, 1871. The plaintiff had sued for and recovered, in one action, five hundred and twenty-six penalties, of $50 each, for as many different offences of the same kind. On appeal to the Court of Appeals Mr. O'Conor argued the case in support of the appellants, but, the judgment in that case being reversed on the merits, the question whether a party could be tried for numerous delinquencies at once, and subjected to numerous penalties in one and the same action, was not passed upon. It is admitted by all parties that, as respects this point of joining several offences and punishments in one trial and judgment, there is no difference between penal actions and indictments.

Though left undecided in this particular case, the letter before us proceeds to show that this very question was considered by the Court of Appeals, and finally disposed of on December 12, 1871, *while the Johnson case was actually still under advisement.* In Fisher *vs.* The New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company,* Justice Grover, in

* 46 New York Reports, 659.

delivering the opinion of the court, utters the following unmistakable language:

"This makes it unnecessary to determine whether, if several penalties are recoverable, they can all be recovered in one action, or whether a separate action must be brought for each penalty. I dismiss this part of the case with the simple remark that, irrespective of what was the early common-law rule, or how the question as an original one should be determined upon principle, *the rule has been too long considered settled and acted upon in this State, that they can all be recovered in one action, to permit any departure from it by this court.*"

We have here the express decision of the court, not only establishing the law, but declaring it to be already established, and to have been settled too long to permit any departure therefrom, that several penalties may be recovered, and consequently several punishments inflicted, in one action. Mr. O'Conor may have been right—we may, in fact, go further and say that, considering his superior erudition and legal acumen, in all probability he was right in his estimate of the law as it stood at the time of his argument; but whether, rightly or wrongly, the Court of Appeals had arrived at the opposite conclusion subsequently to the submission of his brief, and prior to the trial of the Tweed indictments, and this conclusion had therefore become the established law of the State of New York at the time when Justice Davis applied it to Tweed's case. As Mr. O'Conor emphatically observes, he had no choice. The law had been declared, and he was necessarily controlled by it:

"Had any one then read to you my brief in Johnson's case, as persuasive evidence of the law, it must be presumed that you would have promptly referred to Fisher's case. You might have added: 'If that argument cannot be answered, it can be overruled. The deliberate opinion of the highest court in the State is against it. Whatever I might think of its legality, the rule laid down by that court controls me and I must obey it.'"

Having completed this brief history of the rulings of the Court of Appeals, Mr. O'Conor is now in a position to answer Justice Davis's questions, which he does unequivocally in the following words:

"Whether a doctrine so recently and so emphatically repudiated should have been at once approved and adopted when its effect was to open the prison doors and exempt a peculator from penalties, the Appeal judges may answer as they best can. It is not the question propounded to me. The dates show that my argument, however irrefragable, was before the court, and was repudiated by it when Fisher's case was decided. Of course I did not believe when Tweed was tried that you could have treated that argument as valid. You ask whether I suppose that the Court of Oyer and Terminer was exceeding its jurisdiction when you proceeded to impose the cumulative sentences. *The above recited utterance of its views by the Court of Appeals in deciding Fisher's case forbade my regarding that act even as an irregularity or an error.*"

It is needless to add any comments. Suffice it to say, that the day will come when the remarkable and fearless letter, from which the above extracts are taken, will be regarded as the noblest work ever performed, with pen or tongue, by its learned and distinguished author.

But, in the face of this recent action of our court of last resort, and various other decisions which render our modern New York reports a curiosity to novelty seekers, it may not be amiss to devote a little attention to the working of the judiciary system, under which, for upward of a quarter of a century, we have labored. We have not, at present, the space, nor is it our province, to inquire into the merits of the system which preceded it. That it had been found in some respects faulty, may be inferred from the fact that a feeling of dissatisfaction with it, or at least with some of the incumbents who at that period occupied prominent positions on the bench, gave rise to the movement which resulted in an elective judiciary. But, when judged by the proper test, its superiority to the system by which it was replaced must impress the most superficial observer. There are members of the bar still living—the eminent counsel whose Letter has been made the subject of the preceding pages among the number—who can recall the time when the bench and bar of New York stood among the first in the ranks of the legal profession in America, and when the New York Reports were mentioned with respect, and their exposition of the law received as

entitled to great weight, in all the courts in the United States. In what light are they now regarded?

"None so poor to do them reverence."

The lawyer in a foreign court, who should undertake to pronounce upon a question of law, on the authority of a decision in one of the modern New York Reports, would stand every chance of being laughed at for his pains, and reminded that there are few questions on which, if he carefully investigated the New York Reports of the last twenty-five years, he could not find authorities in direct conflict with one another, and in some instances, perhaps, the higher the court the more conflicting the authorities!

The inevitable results of rendering the arbiter and expounder of that which is immutable—namely, the principles of law, justice, and equity—dependent for his position on the the most mutable of all influences—the shifting favor of the multitude—ought, it would seem, be so apparent as to strike the eye of the most casual observer. The officer, who is to administer justice impartially, should be not only beyond the reach of indirect or corrupt influences—not only should his hands be free from the stain of lucre, but his mind beyond the more subtle temptation of popular favor, party spirit, and patronage. Admitting that judges may be elected under the present system—as we most cheerfully admit there have been, and still are—who prove superior to all such personal considerations, the question still remains, "Are these the officers whom the masses, who are privileged to elect them, will, as a rule, prefer? Are these the men whom the party caucuses and conventions—the real element which controls our popular election—will be the most ready to nominate?" Look at the generality of the men who compose those conventions, and let their character answer for itself.

As is the case with most changes, the evil results of the elective system were not most strongly perceived at the outset; had this been the case, the result would probably have been an immediate return to the original system. But the

prestige, which surrounded the honored names that at that time filled the bench in the majority of our courts, insured their re-election in the first instance. These men, trained in the old school, and appreciating to its full extent the dignity and requirements of the office which they held, were little disposed to desire re election, or to court popular favor. They, of course, possessed the knowledge and experience requisite for their duties; and for a few years the machinery of our courts proceeded in its old groove, and without any perceptible alteration in the administration of the law. But this prestige would necessarily wear off with each successive election. New men were rapidly introduced who had all their duties to learn, while the seniors of experience, who were to guide them in the paths which they had already trodden, were seen diminishing day by day.

Then our courts began to be the scene of contested elections, different candidates claiming the same seat, and justice was obliged to wait while the disputes of rival justices were settled. Still, even at that day, the men elected to office, though without judicial experience, were men of high attainments and recognized position at the bar; and, if the necessity of conciliating popular favor began by degreçs to impress itself on one or another of them, it was favor to be expressed only in the shape of re-election. Even at that period no tongue had dared to couple the name of one of our judicial officers with the idea of bribery.

Gradually the principle of patronage grew up around the courts. The controllers of the party conventions began to consider that there was a variety of offices within the appointment of the judge which they might secure with profit for themselves and their own connection. Then began the disgraceful practice of securing the pledge of the judge to be nominated that the offices within his gift should be conferred on the parties whom they should indicate, so that officers chosen by the court, as its own representatives, to be clothed with its dignity, and invested with its responsibility, should be selected not for their fitness for the position, but because

they were the relatives, friends, and nominees of this or that influential member of the party caucus.

It was at this period that another evil of the elective system began to be distinctly felt, an evil which it had been one of the express objects of its institution to remove. The permanency of our judiciary was considered to be an undesirable element; and it was thought that an elective bench, by eliminating the element of permanency, would form a convenient mode of ridding the community of undesirable judges. But in this, the worst period of our judicial oppression, the very opposite influence was exerted. The same judges appeared, again and again, as candidates for re-election, and, as they all belonged to the predominant party, they continued to occupy the bench for term after term, until the possibility of their ever leaving it in their life-time seemed to fade out of the public mind. Here we have the most striking illustration of the futility of popular elections to secure judicial integrity. In the face of the most glaring exposures, these men were elected to the bench, and, strange as it may appear, no voice was ever raised to suggest that these revelations disqualified them for election; and even intelligent and upright members of the bar seemed unable to withstand the principle of fidelity to their party sufficiently to withhold their votes from its chosen candidate. Permanency in office seemed to have been assured, at least for the evil-doers, by the elective system.

We have happily arrived at a better period, when Justice can, in some of our courts, hold up her head, and disclaim the idea of venality or corruption. But to what extent this reform has been wrought may be considered a very doubtful question, especially when viewed in the light of the recent decisions which Mr. O'Conor has so sarcastically and suggestively chronicled in his Letter. Yet, should the reform prove to have been more effectual than we are inclined to believe, we have experienced to what degradation an entire community may be brought by the elective system, and we must feel that, while this system lasts, there remains little security that our courts, instead of being instruments of protection, will again become the machinery of

injustice and oppression, offering assistance to none save the unprincipled and audacious peculator, who seeks immunity for his outrages, and the rich man, who is willing and able to purchase protection for rights which he cannot otherwise enforce.

ART. VIII. 1. *Address to the Graduates of Manhattan College.* By Hon. J. R. BRADY, Judge of the Supreme Court. July, 1875.

2. *Reports of Examinations at Manhattan College.* July, 1875.

3. *Commencement Exhibitions at Fordham and St. Xavier's Colleges, Societas Jesu.* July, 1875.

IT is now some time since we congratulated Manhattan College on its efficient and successful work; but it affords us pleasure to bear testimony to the fact that in the mean time it has continued to make steady progress. We, who have not to shape our views in accordance with any dogma, who ackowledge no master or dictator, either in Church or State, and who make no distinction between the institutions of the different religious denominations than that based upon the work done and the results accomplished may claim to speak as we think of Manhattan.

It is but fair to say that those who conduct that institution have never asked us to say any thing about it; they have never sought to influence our views, in any manner, either in regard to themselves or others. Most of our readers will probably regard this assurance as superfluous; but there are some who need it if it will do them any good. For the benefit of the latter class we will add that the Jesuits sometimes pretend to hold the Christian Brothers responsible for our views, for no better reason than that, like the really good educators of all other denominations, they persist in being friendly to us.

We may be permitted to remark, parenthetically, that this is rather illogical, not to say dishonest, on the part of the good Fathers, since none were more "friendly" to us than they, as long as they thought they might be able to impress us with their own views and principles. At least, none gave us more vehement assurances of friendship; and, in vindication of those assurances, they inserted their prospectuses in our advertising department in a manner so munificent—so "regardless of cost"—that we could not help regarding the good Fathers as the innocent victims of calumny and misrepresentation. What a gross injustice, thought we, to say that these good men are prejudiced against "heretics," "infidels," etc. Why, they are the best friends of such! Nor were they unduly abrupt either in making their overtures or in withdrawing

their friendship. They favored us with a trial of some three or four years; and, in order that we might have none but ourselves to blame the day that the light of their countenance ceased to shine upon us, they gave us warnings at regular intervals. Nay, as in the good, old times of the thumb-screw, and other appliances of kindred character, they gave us a foretaste, from time to time, of the calamity that was to befall us in the event of our remaining obdurate.

But what were we expected to do? Only what will seem, at first sight, a very simple thing, namely, to become filled to overflowing with faith. First of all, we must believe, and stoutly maintain, that there are no educators anywhere to equal the Jesuits; especially must we lay it down as a fundamental principle, that any Catholic educators claiming to be equal to them must be regarded as impostors. Our faith in the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope were to follow in order, but the good Fathers would not insist on any thing more in this direction than that we should not mock openly at either dogma.

We trust our readers are aware that we mock at no Christian sect or its faith; and that, far from mocking at the Catholic Church, we have often borne cheerful testimony to the indebtedness of modern civilization to Catholic educators in literature, science, and the arts. The dogma, then, in which we have failed with the Jesuits, is not the dogma of Conception or the dogma of Infallibility, but the dogma of their own superiority as educators. This is the rock upon which we split; it was it that brought upon us the catastrophe so long threatened, some seven years ago, when all the prospectuses of the Jesuits, male and female, disappeared, like an exhalation, from our pages, and we sought consolation in our bereavement in the pious words of Juvenal:

> "O sanctas gentes, quibus *hæc* nascuntur in hortis,
> *Numina!*"

We need not extend this little episode to show the difference between the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers. The former would allow no liberty of thought; the latter would place no other restraint on the expression of opinion than that of reason, justice, and decorum. Then, as educators, the Jesuits depend on the prestige of their spiritual ancestors of about two centuries ago, and on their contemporary brethren of France, Italy, and Spain; whereas the Christian Brothers depend only on the work they perform, and their qualifications for it.

It might well be expected that the colleges, conducted by two orders differing so widely in their views and their plans, would exhibit corresponding differences in their characteristics. We ascertained more than a decade since that such was the case; and, having done so, we did not hesitate to point out the exact nature of those differences. Of course, this was a grievous sin on our part; it was "a malignant attack" upon the Jesuits; and to attack the Jesuits was to attack the Catholic Church,

the good Fathers being at once its pillars and corner-stone. They knew very well, however, that their pious accusations rested lightly upon us, and that it was in vain their organs assailed us. But they devised a characteristic plan; one that seemed to promise the most brilliant success. This consisted in nothing more nor less than to create the impression among Catholics that the conductors of Manhattan were in league with an heretical periodical against the Jesuits, and consequently against the Church! Accordingly, every criticism we made upon Fordham College and St. Xavier's College was declared to be inspired by the Christian Brothers. We laughed at the educational pretensions of men who were but half educated themselves, only because we were told to laugh by the Christian Brothers. For a while, some were found verdant enough to believe the story of the good Fathers; but only for a short while. Although ingeniously constructed, it failed to conceal its fraudulent, avaricious character. A reaction set in; the most pious Catholics withdrew their sons from the "Pillars of the Church," and placed them under those who were accused of being in league with an heretical journal that was doing all in its power to tear down those pillars! This reaction is still in progress. It has proceeded so far now that, while the Fathers of Fordham and St. Xavier alternately offer indulgences, and make threats, to those whom they discover to have sons or wards to educate, their vacant desks increase in number from one term to another, while the Christian Brothers are frequently obliged to refuse students admission, having already as many as they can suitably accommodate.

But the chief reason of this is, that the superiors of the Jesuits have a different idea of what we want in America from that of the superiors of the Christian Brothers. The former seem to think that those Fathers, who can only take charge of primary schools in Europe, are fully competent to take charge of colleges and universities in America. The superiors of the Christian Brothers, upon the other hand, make it a point to send their most accomplished educators to take charge of their American colleges. Add to this the well-known fact that the good Fathers have always to take a hand in politics, and that, being, as they claim, the pillars of the Church, it follows that it becomes their duty to take particular charge of all new dogmas. It is true that their self-imposed political duties do not always tend to diminish the number of their students. Parents and guardians who reflect are, indeed, apt to think that those who are absorbed alternately in problems of government and church dogmas can hardly be expected to find much time to devote to the duties of a college professor, even when they are qualified for those duties. But the process of reflection is not often indulged in under such circumstances, so that it sometimes happens that the numbers of students at our New York Jesuit colleges

are in an inverse ratio to the attention bestowed upon them by their professors. This may well be regarded as an anomaly, but it is nevertheless a fact.

Thus, for example, any one having a taste for investigation or research, may ascertain for himself that, during the rule of Tweed, Sweeny, and Connolly, when the good Fathers of Fordham and St. Xavier had much more to do with our city politics than they ever had before, or have had since, those institutions were crowded in a corresponding ratio, and at no other period had Fordham so large a number of "parlor boarders;" and it may well be doubted whether it will have so large a number again, until we have another Tweed or Sweeny at the head of affairs. But, had the fact been otherwise; had the number of students diminished in Tweed's time; had there been no "parlor boarders" under the Sweeny *régime*, still the good Fathers would have sustained no loss. The handsome donations which they received from the Ring, in the shape of real estate and money, would have amply indemnified them.

During the same period, Manhattan College had nothing to depend upon but its work. It had no donations, either in real estate or money, from any fraudulent source, nor had it any "parlor boarders." In short, the period of Tweed and Sweeny's rule was that during which Manhattan College had to struggle hardest for its existence as a first-class Catholic college. It was literally under a cloud, and the cloud became thicker and more oppressive when we assailed the Ring, especially when it was seen that we enjoyed the sympathies of the superiors of the Christian Brothers. But the cloud did not endure long; at the downfall of the Ring, it entirely disappeared; and, from that day to this, Manhattan has been steadily gaining in fame and prosperity, and just as steadily has the prestige of Fordham and St. Xavier (which, indeed, was never very high among competent judges who knew any thing of it) been on the wane.

We have long felt that the liberal, cosmopolitan spirit evinced by the Christian Brothers, their entire freedom from sectarian bigotry, their conciliatory disposition toward Protestants and all who differ with them, and, above all, their devotion to the great cause of education for its own sake, entitled them to the good-will of every impartial mind. We need hardly say, therefore, that it has afforded us pleasure to observe that its last Commencement examinations elicited the approbation of all our principal organs of public opinion. In order to show our readers that we are not peculiar in our estimate of Manhattan, we will extract a passage or two from as many of the articles in several New York papers now before us—passages which will serve as specimens of the spirit of approbation and good-will which pervades all. "The Commencement exercises of this institution," says the Daily Times, "being

invariably attended by an audience so great as to render accommodation within the college buildings impossible, a large tent was erected on the lawn in front of the terrace, beneath which at least 2,000 ladies and gentlemen must have been congregated. The scene during the progress of the exercises, conducted in the open air, on the banks of the Hudson, on a beautiful summer afternoon, was one of unusual attraction."

Another of our journals says, in discussing the same subject, that "The immense crowd, which a few days ago witnessed the annual Commencement of Manhattan College, was a cheering spectacle seldom seen in our oldest universities on such occasions." We subjoin a passage from one other article:

"Manhattan College has been, since its foundation, a popular seat of learning; year after year, it has been winning new triumphs in the cause of Christian education, but the last Commencement seems to have been the greatest victory it has yet won. Three thousand people assembled to witness the graduating exercises of Manhattan, must have been a spectacle well calculated to cheer the friends and patrons of Christian education, and stimulate them to greater exertions in its cause. Among these three thousand people were the most distinguished citizens of New York—clergymen, lawyers, physicians, journalists, and the most renowned educationalists in the State. The orations delivered by the graduates were remarkable for an originality, a boldness and reach of thought, an extent of knowledge seldom displayed in the most successful Commencement exercises. The different speeches made a most profound impression on the audience, and convinced the most intelligent visitors present that the happy young speakers had received a thorough training during their college course, and had been taught how to utilize their knowledge, how to write and speak—the grandest result of a high college education."

So far as we are aware, the writer of any of the articles from which these passages are taken is no more a Roman Catholic than we are ourselves. But the most rigid Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, would hardly grudge to do justice to the merits of a Catholic institution which has had the liberality and moral courage to number among its faculty, and in its catalogue, Protestant professors; an institution which, in a word, never makes any other distinction in its good-will between Trojan and Tyrian than that founded on ability and merit.

Judge Brady's Address to the graduates of Manhattan is one of the best of its kind we have seen for some time. But we must confine our attention here to the introductory part, in which the judge very appropriately gives a sketch of the life and character of the founder of the Order of Christian Brothers. From this, we extract a brief passage or two, commencing with the following:

"Manhattan College is the continuation of a system inaugurated by the Ven. John Baptiste de la Salle, to whom the cause of popular education owes so much. Born in 1651 at Rheims, in France, he became canon of the cathedral of that city at the early age of seventeen. He it was who first conceived the design of estab-

lishing schools for the instruction of teachers, of which our normal school in this city is a type. Finding that his social position was a barrier between himself and his teachers, who co-operated with him in the institute he was founding, he removed this obstacle by distributing his whole patrimony among the poor."

There are some observations in the address which show that, as a Catholic, the judge has some moral courage. We quote:

"La Salle was bitterly opposed in his various educational enterprises in France, and finally compelled to cease his functions for a short time, in Paris, by the teachers of that city, who saw in his gratuitous system the decay of their own."

The judge did not, however, deem it prudent to enter into particulars on so delicate a point, surrounded as he was by so many priests, with his Eminence the Cardinal at their head. It would have grated rather harshly on the ears of such an audience to have said in plain terms that the good De La Salle was persecuted by the orthodox teachers of his time, who claimed a monopoly as educators, and whose claim was not only recognized by the bishops and archbishops, but, as far as possible, enforced. The judge was loath to say that La Salle was persecuted because he was too liberal in his views and feelings; because he maintained that even the poor needed some other knowledge in addition to that contained in the "Catechism of the Christian Faith;" and, worse than all, because he held that even heretics should not be subjected to punishment for their opinions the same as if they had been guilty of robbery, burglary, or high treason. The judge would have placed himself in a still more awkward position, if possible, had he informed his audience that, on account of the persecutions to which he had been subjected by those who ought to have aided and encouraged him in his noble efforts, De La Salle ordained, as a fundamental provision in the Institutes of the Christian Brothers, that no priest or ecclesiastic should, under any pretence, ever become a member of the Order. This provision has never been violated, a fact which would account by itself for much of the hostility of the Jesuits—a much more bitter, more implacable hostility than the majority of either our Protestant or Catholic readers would be disposed to believe. But, fortunately, as we have shown in the preceding pages, their hostility has, thus far at least, utterly failed in this country, and let us hope, for the honor as well as for the benefit of America, that it will ever continue to do so. But we will extract one passage more from Judge Brady's Address:

"As early as 1858 they had, in one year, instructed over three hundred and fifty thousand pupils. The Institute now numbers eleven thousand Brothers, having under their paternal care more than half a million pupils in different countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. There are one thousand members in the United States and the Canadas, residing in the principal cities, and teaching from sixty to seventy thousand pupils in one hundred parochial schools, fifteen academies, and ten colleges."

This is an important record. Even the one thousand Christian Brothers in the United States and the Canadas form a powerful army; but, as we have shown, it is an army which makes war only upon ignorance—an army which upholds only the cause of intellectual progress and knowledge—an army which employs no sappers and miners for the purpose of undermining the liberties of either Protestants or Catholics—an army which, in a word, has never been accused of mischief anywhere, but which, on the contrary, has everywhere elicited the approbation of the intelligent and enlightened of all religious denominations.

But can the same be said of those who claim to be the only orthodox teachers—the only teachers capable of preparing the rising generation for the requirements of this world and the next? What country under heaven has had reason to rejoice at having a large army of Jesuists? Nay, what country, having any experience in the matter, has not had but too much reason to regard such an army as a calamity—a worse calamity than an army of Saracens, or Scythians, intrenched in its strongholds with the avowed purpose of doing all the mischief in its power? Let those who regard this as an exaggeration turn to the history of any Catholic country, and see whether it has not been forced, at one time or another, not only to regard the teachings of the Jesuists as pernicious, but to expel the teachers as seditionists and firebrands.

Fortunately for themselves, as well as for the future of our common country, our Catholic fellow-citizens, foreign as well as native, have begun to realize the radical and grave difference between the Christian Brothers and the Jesuits as instructors of youth. It is almost superfluous for us to say that it is not on religious grounds we contrast the two orders with each other; our enemies, if we have such, would hardly accuse us of sectarian bias. We disclaim all intention of giving offence to any Catholic as such. Were we actuated by a different feeling, we should rather assail the Christian Brothers, and commend the Jesuits, for it is certain that the former serve the Church more than the latter. The Christian Brothers confine themselves exclusively to their duties as teachers, and allow the Church to take care of itself in its own way; whereas, the Jesuits are constantly interfering in the affairs of both Church and State, and rarely, if ever, for the benefit of either. In a word, it may well be doubted whether Luther and Calvin, combined, have brought more discredit on the Church by assailing it as they did than the Jesuits have done by their arrogance, their political intrigues, their "pious frauds," and, above all, by their manufacture of new sins and new dogmas—contrivances which would have overwhelmed the Church long since, and crushed it out of existence had it not been founded on some very firm basis, if not on the genuine rock of St. Peter.

REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES LETTRES.

Galérie du Dix-Huitième Siècle. Par ARSÈNE HOUSSAYE. 12mo., pp. 367. Paris: E. Dentre. 1875.

IT is to be feared that readers will hardly find this series equal to its predecessors. It displays, of course, the same general characteristics which distinguish the productions of this author; but the brilliancy of thought, sparkling anecdote, and grace of style, which rendered so charming his *esquisses* of the artists, philosophers, and actresses of the period of Louis XV., are hardly sufficient for the serious topics which it becomes necessary to introduce as we approach the close of the eighteenth century. The reign of Louis XVI., with which the volume before us begins, was the prelude to the most fearful tragedy of modern history. To treat it in the spirit of comedy would be simply impossible; to portray dramatically the horrors of the French Revolution would not be in accordance with the plan of the work; to discuss the subject philosophically, which is the course here adopted, is a treatment but indifferently suited to the genius of the author. M. Houssaye has well described the eighteenth century, as

"Un drame Shakspérien qui commence par la comédie de la régence, et qui a pour dénoûment la révolution."—p. 17.

At the time of Louis XVI.'s accession, the aristocracy of France had become *blasé* and, in a sense, almost effete. It had exhausted its store of sensations. The reign of Louis XIV., dissolute at the outset, fanatical at the close, had been at all periods a reign of great events. Great minds marched at the head of the nation and controlled the progress of history. But a sense of weariness had come over the French people. Grandeur had begun to pall; the persecutions at Nantes and elsewhere, under the guise of religion, had awakened a feeling of disgust. The nobility gladly subsided into the epicureanism and license of the regency and the elegant profligacy of Louis XV. But to this also came a reaction. France was the victim of *ennui*.

"Après Louis XIV. on était fatigué du sublime, après Louis XV. on est las du charmant; la philosophie va régner."—p. 18.

Louis XVI. restored decorum to the court, and sought to elevate religion to its former pedestal. But for this it was too late. The religion which actively encouraged a system of persecution worthy of the darkest ages, while it passively tolerated the most open defiance of morality, and even decency, could not lay claim to much respect, although sustained by a conscientious sovereign and a virtuous queen. A new power had grown up—the philosophers, who at heart disbelieved in every thing, government as well as religion. Hence emanated the

encyclopædie, which is justly recognized as the main source whence sprang the Revolution.

"L'Encyclopédie était un antre au fond duquel une armée de Cyclopes forgeait les armes de la révolution française."—p. 14.

The object of the direct attacks of the encyclopædists was religion —nor the church, nor the priesthood, nor the ordinances—but the spirit of religion itself. It sought to break down, and did break down, in the minds of the masses, ignorant as well as learned, all reverence and all faith, and the weapon which they employed was science:

"Opposer la science à la foi religieuse, secouer sur les générations modernes l'arbre de la connaissance de bien et de mal, disperser le fruit défendu, c'était le premier devoir des encyclopédistes."—p. 11.

The miscalculation, of which they were culpable, was, as the author justly observes, supposing that a religion, which had been for centuries so indissolubly united with the political institutions of the land, could be overthrown without drawing with it those institutions into one common ruin.

While the encyclopædists were diverting the thinking minds of the nation into a new and hitherto untrodden path, uprooting the faith of the masses, and even sapping that of the ecclesiastics themselves, the thirst for excitement was gradually pervading all the people. The visions of Swedenborg, the charlatanries of Cagliostro, the prophecies of Krudener, the *baquet* of Mesmer, were all sought with avidity. Thus, the same influences emasculated the higher classes and stimulated the lower. When the revolution came—and it came of course without warning, for, as Houssaye remarks:

"Les révolutions sont filles de l'imprévu; personne ne les veut, tout le monde les fait."—p. 27.

it found the ruling classes utterly unprepared and without any means of defence.

"La véritable faiblesse de la société que '89 va détruire, c'était de n'être défendu par rien."—p. 30.

The second part of the volume, entitled "Les Reines du Siècle," contains two vivid sketches of Marie Thérèse and Catherine II. In the portrait of the former there is comparatively little novelty. Macaulay has already shown us the picture of the young queen, appealing with her infant in her arms to her Hungarian subjects until they cry with one voice "Moriamur pro rege nostro, Mariâ Theresâ!"

Houssaye takes us more into her domestic life, and when he shows us the empress queen in her palace, prematurely aged, childless with all her children, a ministering angel to the sick and sorrowful, but with little to cheer her own life, sad and world-weary in the midst of all her grandeur, we feel her to have been an object as much of pity as admiration; of Catharine "femme doubleé d' un homme," we have a vigorous

portraiture. The intense greatness of the character—great for evil as well as for good—great in the force displayed with equal strength in the regulation of a kingdom or of a royal pageant—great especially in her utter contempt of every consideration that stood in the way of her purposes, renders her one of the most remarkable figures of the century:

"Elle a porté aussi légèrement les crimes que les bonnes actions. Voilà pourquoi, sans doute, Voltaire l'appelait Catherine le Grand."—p. 111.

The sketch concludes with a brief anecdote of a saying of Catharine, with a comment so characteristic of the author:

"Elle disait à Diderot: 'Assez bavardé. Je vais à mon gagne-pain.' La plus belle louange qu'on peut donner à un souverain, c'est de dire qu'il a gagné son pain."—p. 112.

The sketches of the painters and sculptors, poets, novelists, and actresses—one of whom, Mademoiselle de Camargo, had already been introduced in a previous series—are brilliant and sparkling, but lack the interest of the earlier *esquisses*. This was inevitable; for, in the time of Louis XVI., the day for these artists had passed. The old school had died out, the new was extinguished in the convulsion which ere long overwhelmed all France; and to invest those figures with life and interest is at present a task beyond the power even of genius.

Queen Mary. A Drama. By ALFRED TENNYSON. 16mo, pp. 284. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

WE might reasonably have expected that Mr. Tennyson, in devoting a drama to the history of the first queen of England, would have exerted himself to throw some new light upon a character which has been of late years the theme of no little discussion; or would, at least, have produced a poem of some interest, by graphically portraying the hidden nature of the heroine—a nature which should reveal itself by some manifestation of earnest patriotism, or strong, womanly affection; which would insure a certain sympathy for the lonely woman, yearning for love, yet generally detested; earnest in her endeavors to do right, yet feeling herself the object of her people's reprobation; living unloved and dying unlamented. It is difficult, in fact, to conceive a grander dramatic figure than the first Mary of England presents, even on the unadorned page of history, notwithstanding the dark clouds which overshadow her reign. And by what a galaxy of figures is she surrounded, whose simplest record would seem sufficient to awaken our pity, sympathy, or admiration. Wyatt and Courtenay, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey—it would seem impossible for any one to produce a drama in which these person-

ages, standing forth as living and breathing figures, encompassed with the halo of poetry and dramatic action, should not impart to the poem in which they appeared a profound interest.

We regret to say that such is exactly what Mr. Tennyson has produced in this play of "Queen Mary." It is little more than a rendering into blank verse of one volume of Froude's History of England—following it incident by incident, and generally in the shape of recitals by eye-witnesses of scenes which are supposed to have transpired off the stage. Any thing like dramatic action, the play absolutely does not possess. The characters, when not relating events which they have witnessed, are mostly occupied in prosy, long-winded discussions as to the desirability of the Spanish marriage, the propriety of reviving the act *De Hæretico comburendo*, or the relations of England with Spain and France. This cannot be called drama.

The play, if such it may be called, opens with the coronation of Mary and the comments of the populace; a rather life-like scene, somewhat after the manner of Shakespeare's openings. Then follows an interview between Cranmer and Peter Martyr, in which the former is urged to fly from England, but he meets the entreaties of his friend with the noble answer:

> "Step by step,
> Thro' many voices crying right and left,
> Have I climbed back into the primal church;
> My flight were such a scandal to the faith,
> The downfall of so many simple souls,
> I dare not leave my post."—p. 16.

At the close of the scene he is arrested and taken to the Tower, with the words:

> "I thank my God it is too late to fly."—p. 18.

These opening scenes are in the best manner of the play. Those which follow the scene at Paul's Cross, in which the Sieur de Noailles draws Courtenay into the Wyatt conspiracy, and that in which Courtenay attempts to sound Elizabeth, are weak, and have little bearing on the issue in proportion to the amount of space which they consume. The act concludes with a long scene, in which the queen appears love-sick for Philip, yet apparently fully alive to the exigencies of her position. Like most of the scenes in this drama, there is too much discussion and too little action. Mary fills up the time with discussions with her maid, with Gardiner, with Noailles, and with Simon Rénard; occasionally, however, she rises into a vein of fine poetry, as in the following fragment:

> "My star! a baleful one,
> I see but the black night and hear the wolf."—p. 57.

The second act is devoted to the Wyatt conspiracy. A great portion of it is taken up with speech-making. Still, some of the speeches,

though entirely undramatic, and sadly impeding the action, have the ring of genuine merit. Such is Wyatt's address to the insurgents of Kent, and such, in a less degree, the address of Queen Mary to the citizens of London. This scene is made the occasion of introducing a description of London during the rebellion, which is worthy of notice, as illustrating both the faults and beauties of Tennyson's peculiar style:

> "Your city is divided. As we passed,
> Some hailed, some hissed us. There were citizens
> Stood each before his shut-up booth, and looked
> As *grim* and *grave* as from a funeral.
> And here a knot of ruffians all in rags,
> With *execrating, execrable* eyes,
> Glared at the citizens. Here was a young mother,
> Her face on flame, her red hair all blown back,
> She shrilling 'Wyatt,' while the boy she held
> Mimicked and piped her 'Wyatt' as red as she."—p. 80.

The act concludes with the defeat of the insurrectionists and the committal to the Tower of Courtenay, who laments his fate in the following dignified and poetic lines:

> "Oh la! the Tower, the Tower, always the Tower!
> I shall grow into it, I shall be the Tower."—p. 101.

In the matter of sacrificing the dramatic action to discussion, the third act is pre-eminently faulty. In it we have the reconciliation of England with the Papacy, which furnishes the opportunity to introduce at full length the address of Cardinal Pole to the parliament, and the entire discussion in council as to whether the act for the extirpation of heretics shall be revived. This is the most tedious part of the whole drama; yet we find in it one fine passage—the scene in which Mary feels, or fancies she feels, symptoms of maternity. In the rhapsody in which she gives expression of her feelings, she rises into some of the finest poetry in the drama:

> "His sceptre shall go forth from Ind to Ind!
> His sword shall hew the lunatic peoples down;
> His faith shall clothe the world that will be his
> Like universal air and sunshine! Open
> Ye everlasting gates! The king is here,
> My star, my son!"—p. 134.

The subject of the fourth act is the martyrdom of Cranmer, which introduces us to all the debates between the queen and her ministers, Cranmer and the Roman ecclesiastics, and, finally, Cranmer's own speech in St. Mary's Church, which, with the account of his death which follows, is transcribed, almost verbatim, from Froude. In the conclusion, as is said of Rasselas, "Nothing is concluded." We have the departure of the king, and the death of the queen—behind the scenes, as usual—and the drama ends with the following satisfactory remarks:

LORDS:
"God save Elizabeth, the Queen of England!"
BAGENHALL:
"God save the Crown! the Papacy is no more."
PAGET (*aside*):
"Are we so sure of that?"
ACCLAMATION.
"God save the Queen!"—p. 284.

In the article of characters, "Queen Mary" is as negative as in that of dramatic action. The queen herself is little better than a lay figure. She reasons and she talks, occasionally scolds; in her most love-sick stages she is quite able to argue, and, in situations of the utmost agony, is cool enough to syllogize elaborately and indulge the play upon words for which the poet laureate has such a weakness—perhaps, because it is occasionally found in Shakespeare. Of this we have an instance in the song with which she relieves herself in the moment of her wildest anguish about Philip:

"Hapless doom of woman happy in betrothing!
Beauty passes like a breath, and love is lost in loathing.
Low my lute? speak low my lute, but say the world is nothing.
Low, dear lute, low!"—p. 254.

Then follow her comments:

"Take it away! not low enough for me!
A low voice
Lost in a wilderness where none can hear!
A voice of shipwreck on a shoreless sea!
A low voice from the dust and from the grave.
There, am I low enough now?"
(*Sits on the ground.*)—p. 285.

Elizabeth, in like manner, displays no traces of character. She comes in and goes off, talks and reasons, but does literally nothing beyond astonishing her keeper, Sir Henry Bedingfield, at Woodstock, with the eminently refined and royal remark,

"God hath blessed or curst me with a nose;
Your boots are from the horses."—p. 171.

Passing over the inanities of Courtenay, the grumblings of Bagenhall, and the interminable discourses of Cranmer, Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner, we feel constrained to remark that those who are accustomed to look into Mr. Tennyson's poems as into the "pure well of English undefiled," will be somewhat startled in the perusal of "Queen Mary." On this point, all the characters appear to be equally vulnerable. The lord mayor remarks:

"While this same marriage question was *being* argued."—p. 79.

The queen exclaims:

"I am Harry's daughter, Tudor, and *not fear*."—p. 99.

King Philip says to Simon Rénard:

"Simon, is supper ready?"—p. 185.

to which Simon replies:

"Ay, my liege,
I saw the covers *laying*."

PHILIP:

"Let us have it."—p. 186.

Cardinal Pole expresses himself as follows:

"I was for a moment wroth *at* thee."—p. 160.

Even an anonymous character is introduced to remark:

"That's a *big lot* of money."—p. 94.

It is much to be regretted that the poet laureate should have made the mistake of breaking up a history into speeches, questions, and answers, and giving it to the world as a drama. It may possibly be his lack of familiarity with the dramatic writers which has rendered it less perceptible to his observation that, in a drama, action, passion, and delineation of character are usually considered indispensable. But that he should have fallen away so conspicuously in matters which he has hitherto been supposed to make an especial study—the matters of accuracy, delicacy, and refinement—we regret to say of thought as well as of language—is a fact which it is difficult to explain.

Virgil. By the Rev. LUCAS COLLINS, M. A. 18mo., pp. 190. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

AN analysis of the works of the principal classical writers, with a biographical notice of each author, and extracts from his various productions, introducing the reader to translators not generally known, and, in many instances, deserving of better acquaintance, is the task proposed by the editor of the series of which we have here a specimen. Readers, who are familiar with Virgil only in the original, or through the medium of Dryden's translation, will be glad of an opportunity of learning something about the various versions by which it has been sought to familiarize the English reader with the works of the great Roman poet. Some of these translations are remarkable only for their oddity. Such is the version produced about the middle of the sixteenth century, by Richard Stonyhurst, the author of what Lord Derby styles "that pestilent heresy," the making of English hexameters. We find here some curious specimens of his translations, in which the distinguishing feature appears to have been the attempt to follow the original in adapting the sound to the sense.

When he has to translate the line,

"Exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum,"

he does it as follows:

"The townsmen roared, the trump tara-tantara rattled."

When he has to express the Cyclops forging the thunderbolts, it is,

"With peale-meale ramping, with thwick-thwack sturdily thundering,"

and very much more of the same kind.

It is not surprising that the author should style this the *comic* English version. While doing all justice to the vigor and ability of Dryden, Mr. Collins points out, in a few forcible words, the serious defects in his translation:

"Independently of its general looseness and diffuseness, in many passages, amounting to the vaguest paraphrase, there are too many instances in which, not content with making his author say a good many things which he never did say, he palpably misinterprets him. There are many passages of much vigour and beauty; but even of these it has been said, and not unfairly, by a later translator, Dr. Trapp, that, where you most admire Dryden, you see the least of Virgil."—p. 6.

By far the most spirited and brilliant of the translations, is the rendering by Conington of the Æneid into the metre of Scott. From this translation the volume before us contains numerous extracts; but, stirring as they are, and admirably adapted to the narrative form of poetry, it is difficult to read any version of a classical epic in any briefer than the established decasyllabic metre without a sense of incongruity, which diminishes our satisfaction in the perusal. In the account of the Virgilian poems, Mr. Collins calls attention to the fact that they are all conspicuously framed on Greek models. The Bucolica are a direct imitation of the idyls of Theocritus.

"So closely has Virgil copied his model, that he even transplants the natural scenery of Sicily, employed by Theocritus, to his pastoral dreamland, which, otherwise, would seem to be localized on the banks of the Mincio in the neighborhood of his native Mantua."—p. 15.

The Georgics were suggested by Hesiod's Works, and Days, from whom, as well as from other Greek authors, the poet has borrowed largely. In portions of this poem will also be found an evident imitation of Lucretius, Virgil's immediate predecessor. The sketch, which is here given of the Georgics, though brief, is very interesting, and will answer a good purpose, should it inspire the reader with the wish to become better acquainted with a poem, which, though less generally studied than the Æneid, contains some of the noblest efforts of Virgil. Such are the beautiful legend of Orpheus and Eurydice, with which the poem closes, and the charming apostrophe to Italy in the second book, of which Mr. Collins appends a translation in a measure which appears to us better calculated to express the spirit of the hexameter than any of the varieties which modern innovators have sought to introduce.

"Lo! where rise thy giant cities, giant works of men of old,
Towns on beetling crags piled heaven-ward by the hands of builders bold;
Antique towers round whose foundations still the grand old rivers glide,
And the double sea that girds thee, like a fence on either side.

Hail, thou fair and fruitful mother, land of ancient Saturn, hail!
Rich in crops and rich in heroes! thus I dare to wake the tale
Of thine ancient land and honor, opening founts that slumbered long,
Rolling through our Roman towns the echoes of old Hesiod's song."

The Æneid is confessedly an imitation of the great epics of Homer. To this poem, as might be expected, the bulk of the volume before us is devoted; in fact, the entire poem is given us in narrative form, interspersed with copious extracts, generally from Conington's translation, but occasionally from the older and better known version of Dryden. The narrative is very graphic, and, without unnecessary prolixity, gives the reader a very clear and interesting account of the principal incidents of the great Latin epic. In some of the episodes, it goes largely into detail, as in the story of the passion of Dido, the description of the funeral games in honor of Anchises, and the descent into Hades. The description of Æneas's entrance into the mouth of the Tiber with his fleet, immediately after the last-named episode, is perhaps one of the finest specimens of the translation into Scott's metre with which the volume is embellished:

> "Now from the deep Æneas sees
> A mighty grove of glancing trees;
> Embowered amid the silvan scene,
> Old Tiber winds his banks between,
> And in the lap of Ocean pours
> His gulfy stream, his sandy stores.
> Around, gay birds of diverse wing,
> Accustomed there to fly or sing,
> Were fluttering on from spray to spray,
> And soothing ether with their lay."—p. 129.

In this passage the author subjoins a graceful allusion to Virgil's peculiar fondness for nature, distinguishing him above all the ancient poets.

> "Homer tells us of the rivers of the Troad, Simois, and Scamander—but it is only as they affect Hector or Achilles; his heart is all the while with the combatants, not with the flowing river. Not so Virgil. With him we feel the cool breeze, we see the glancing shadow of the trees upon the river, we hear the flutter of the startled birds, and the long plash of the oars in the water. We sail with Æneas on a party of pleasure, rather than a voyage of conquest."—p. 130.

The account of the last battle, in which Æneas slays Turnus, presents us with a picture almost equal in vividness to that in the poem itself. We see Turnus leaping from his chariot to rescue the burning town, and the ranks of the armies dividing before him, and Æneas himself abandoning the siege to encounter him. We see the meeting of the chiefs, the breaking of Turnus's sword, the Fury hovering over him and embarrassing his flight. Finally, we see the last effort of Turnus, the stone which he hurls in vain, the spear of Æneas which disables him; we hear his manly and pathetic appeal, and witness the half-relenting of the conqueror suddenly transformed into a fresh access of rage on recognizing on his victim the belt of the slaughtered Pallas.

"'Tis Pallas. Pallas guides the blade;
From your cursed blood his injured shade
Thus takes the atonement due.'
Thus, as he spoke, his sword he drave,
With fierce and fiery blow,
Through the broad breast before him spread;
The stalwart limbs grow cold and dead;
One groan the indignant spirit gave,
Then sought the shades below."—p. 178.

Without containing any thing remarkably novel, or profound, this little book conveys to the reader a very clear idea of the character of Virgil's poems, and is calculated to excite a fresh interest in their study.

HISTORY.

1. *Egypt from the Earliest Times to B. C.* 300. By S. BIRCH, LL. D., etc. 16mo, pp. 202.

2. *Assyria from the Earliest Times to the fall of Nineveh.* By GEORGE SMITH. 16mo, pp. 202.

3. *Persia from the Earliest Period to the Arab Conquest.* By W. S. W. VAUX, M. A., F. R. S. 16mo, pp. 202. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.

IT is easy to see how valuable a series of this character might be made by careful statements of dates, which it is clear could have been obtained at least approximately, instead of confining us, as the first volume at least has done, to general statements as to the commencement and conclusion of each empire. Inscriptions have been deciphered which open to us the history of nations which date from the general dispersion, and which furnish indications to aid in the solution of problems which have agitated classical students for generations. Here we find clews to the chronology of pre-historic Greece; data which tend to fix the period of the War of Troy; enumerations of the contemporaneous inhabitants of Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. The value of such dates as could have been obtained from these inscriptions could hardly fail to strike any inquirer; and the omission of them, in Dr. Birch's history of Egypt, deprives us of one of the chief benefits to be derived from such a work—its assistance in the study of comparative chronology.

For example, we are informed that Thothmes III. was one of the earlier sovereigns of the third or new empire, which extended from 1600 B. C. to 1110 B. C.; but from this statement we can only guess the probable period of his reign. The same may be said of Seti I., and Rameses II. and III. The important facts, which might have been ascertained from a little more exactness on these points, will appear from

the circumstance that, on one of the monuments of Thothmes III., he is said to have conquered the isles of the Danai, probably Crete and Cyprus, which contained manifold relics of Egyptian occupation. On a monument of Seti I. is inscribed, among a list of prisoners, the name of the Ionians or Javans. In the record of Rameses II.'s victory over the Khita or Hittites—perhaps the κεταιοι of Homer—we find, in the list of their allies, the Mysians, Lycians, and Dardanians, also the name of Ilion. Inscriptions in the reign of Menephtah—supposed to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus—mention the Sardinians, the Sicilians, the Tyseni (Etruscans), the Lycians, and the Achaians. The records of Rameses III. mention an invasion by the maritime people from the Mediterranean, the Palusatie or Pelasgi, the Tsekkarin or Teucrians, the Shakalusha or Sicilians, the Tanau or Danaians, and the Uashasha or Osci.

It appears that the Pelasgi had at that time colonized the islands of the Ægean and the shores of Caria, the Teucri, the northern coast of Asia Minor, and the Tursha, or Turseni, the western coasts of Italy. All this would have been far more satisfactory had the author given us the exact language of the monuments, and been at sufficient pains to ascertain the dates of the inscriptions, so that we might know when those nations of Homeric renown occupied the regions indicated by them.

We must also regret the carelessness and inaccuracy of some of the author's statements—as, for instance, representing the Ethiopians—the inhabitants of Nubia and Abyssinia—as negroes. Some of his conjectures, however, are curious, and worthy of consideration. The advent of Joseph into Egypt he supposes to have been during the sovereignty of one of the shepherd kings; and "the king who knew not Joseph" he explains by the return of the ancient dynasty who expelled the hated Hyksos, and would necessarily at once fear and hate their Hebrew allies.

We have given more space to the first volume of the series, for the reason, among others, that it is the one which possesses most interest. The second volume—*Assyria*—is principally an abridgment of the author's former work on Assyrian explorations, and is proportionally less interesting. In the matter of dates, it is, however, far more precise than the preceding volume, and is in that respect more valuable. Of the third—*Persia*—we cannot speak with commendation. Unlike its predecessors, it is not really taken from the monuments. It is little more than a compilation from previous histories, the accounts of the monuments amounting to little more than illustrations. We regret to remark so decided a decline in the successive numbers of a series which promised well at the outset, and trust that the volumes which may hereafter appear will carry out more fully the objects originally proposed.

EDUCATION.

A Complete Course in Geography, Physical, Industrial, and Political, with a Special Geography for each State. By WILLIAM SWINTON. 4to, pp. 134. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman & Taylor. 1875.

IF geography were to be taught in a series of cuts as numerous and varied as we can find in an ordinary primer, we should have here a work admirably adapted to its purpose. In other words, were the homœopathic system of infinitesimal doses as efficacious in communicating knowledge as it is considered by its adherents in the cure of diseases, this style of performance would be invaluable. We were about to add that, were it the object of tuition to impart a sufficient smattering on a variety of subjects to enable the pupil to talk fluently on each without the trouble of learning a great deal about any, this course might be expected to answer the purpose. But here we pause; for even the smattering acquired by the superficial lessons is expected to be correct as far as it goes, and even this doubtful merit we should hesitate to concede to the performance in question. For the student of this *Course*, if he repose faith in its teachings, is sure to carry away, not only the vaguest kind of impressions on all the subjects discussed, but positively erroneous notions on a great many. On the very first page of the work we have a specimen of would-be syllogistic reasoning which illustrates the character of the impressions generally conveyed:

"That which teaches us the relations between earth and man *must* be the most useful of studies. Geography teaches us the relations between earth and man; therefore, geography must be the most useful of studies."—p. 1.

Our author does not undertake to indicate the process of reasoning by which he arrives at either his major or his minor premise. He does not pretend to show *why* the relations between earth and man should be of more importance than any other study; nor in what sense geography can be said to teach those relations. We have hitherto supposed that the main object of this study was to learn the topography of the earth, and the distinctive characteristics of its different parts. The latter, we may remark, *en passant*, the performance in question does *not* teach, nor does it teach the former except by means of some very vague maps, which are not always so intelligible as they should be to the learner. These maps are, however, intended to be explained *orally;* so also is the system of physical geography which the teacher is to introduce with the colloquial questions: "Did you ever see a lake?" "Did you ever see a river?" "Did you ever see a mountain?" "Is the earth shaped like a ball?" and then he is to illustrate the question by running a knitting-needle through an orange to show how the earth revolves on its own axis; and, to further illustrate the principle, he may explain

how a soap-bubble, floating in the air, will revolve without the aid of a knitting-needle (p. 3). But the most remarkable fact which he is called upon to *explain* is that

"for thousands of years people supposed the earth to be a great, extended plain, but that three hundred and fifty years ago a navigator named Magellan sailed round, or circumnavigated the world, *thus proving that the world is round.*"—p. 11.

The innocent pupil, who has probably never seen Behm's map, nor read Dante's *Divina Commedia*, will naturally suppose that the rotundity—which the teacher is particularly requested to explain means *roundness*—of the earth was a secret to mankind until the voyage of Magellan. It is to be hoped that the teacher, who is expected to use this Course, will make his definitions a little more clear to the learner than they are in the models before him. If, for instance, he repeats verbatim the following, it will be difficult for the pupil to know one portion of land from another:

"If the land juts out or projects from the main body so that the water almost surrounds it, it is called a peninsula—if the land is a point projecting into the sea, it is called a cape."—p. 8.

He must be a very intelligent pupil, indeed, who would infer, from these definitions, that there was any material distinction between a peninsula and a cape. But we must not lose sight of the four IMPORTANT FACTS—so the author styles them—which are to be impressed upon the pupil at the commencement of his course. And what are these important facts? Why, as follows:

"First important fact. The amount of heat in a place is *connected with the climate of the place.*

"Second important fact. The amount of rain in a place is *connected with the climate of the place.*

"Third important fact. The nature of the winds that prevail in a place is *connected with the climate of the place.*

"Fourth important fact. The character of the seasons in a place is *connected with the climate of the place.*"—p. 14.

But the pupil, being very innocent, may want to know what is meant by the climate of a place. Here is the answer provided on the spot:

"Climate means weather conditions in regard to heat, moisture, wind, and seasons."—p. 14.

This is something like the showman's definition of a wild animal—he is wild when he will not let you come near him, and he will not let you come near him because he is wild.

After these important facts, it seems hardly worth while to notice such unimportant features as that "London is the largest city on the globe" (p. 96); "Windsor Castle has been for centuries the favorite residence for the kings and queens of England" (*ib.*); "Spain is neither progressive nor highly civilized" (p. 105); and "Arabia is mostly a

desert plateau" (p. 126). But we must have a word of admiration for the graphic description of Turkey in Europe, and the peculiar importance and accuracy of the *facts* selected for the pupil's information.

"Turkey is the only part of Europe where the women, on going out, muffle up their faces so as to conceal all but their eyes, and where men walk about in loose, flowing robes, and sit cross-legged."—p. 107.

After all, we possibly may have mistaken the objects of this work. It is no doubt intended for, and should be styled, "a Course of *play* at studying geography," and in that capacity would, probably, afford an excellent means of amusement for little girls who like to play at teaching their dolls, could we only first eliminate such inaccuracies of statement and definition as might be calculated to injuriously affect the youthful teachers themselves.

Butler's Pictorial History of the United States, with Maps and Illustrations. By JOHN A. STEWART. 16mo, pp. 300. Philadelphia: J. H. Butler & Co. 1875.

THE approach of the centennial anniversary of our national independence has awakened a fresh interest in the history of our country, which will be profitably utilized by works like the present. There are other reasons why the histories which have been so long in use in our schools should be superseded, or at least supplemented, by text-books which should embrace the events of the last few years. The crisis, through which our nation has so recently passed, is undoubtedly the most momentous that we have experienced in our whole national existence. But the influences which wrought this revolution had been at work for years; and, while the memory of the event is fresh in the minds of all, the mind of the young student is more easily directed to a study of those influences which may prove of untold value in directing his course in after life as a citizen and a republican.

For these reasons we are glad to bestow attention on such works, which, although intended for the young, are well worthy the attention of maturer minds. There is no department whose books require to be so carefully and thoroughly investigated as in that of education—for it is in childhood that impressions are the most readily received, and the most tenaciously retained. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the critic to examine with particular care this branch of literature—happy when, as in the present instance, he is able to speak in terms of commendation.

The object of the new History has been to place succinctly before the student the sequence of events which combined in the first instance to unite the American colonies into one homogeneous nation, and to maintain the national unity amid circumstances the most adverse. With

this view, the narrative is divided into distinct epochs; and, while concisely treating those which have been rendered familiar by previous text-books, enlarges on the later periods, of which comparatively little has been written. After a brief preliminary account of the early discoveries and settlements, it proceeds with a fuller statement of the formation and growth of the different colonies, and shows that the wide diversities of interests and feelings which characterized them formed, in the first instance, a strong bar to any unity of sentiment and action that would tend to strengthen them among themselves, and weaken the influence of the mother country. Some strong external influence was required to consolidate and assimilate them; and this influence was unconsciously furnished by a leading British statesman.

"When, therefore, the great conflict with the French came, and Pitt urged the colonies to a closer union, and advised the raising of large bodies of troops, he was unconsciously leading up to that very consolidation of the colonial strength which was soon to enable them to resist the tyranny of the mother country itself." —p. 100.

Not only did the French War teach the American colonies their strength, and prepare them for united action in the future, but it furnished to the British Government the plea for the system of taxation which ultimately roused the people to resistance. This, however, only accelerated a result which was in itself inevitable.

"The true motive for separation was this: the interests and commonweal of the thirteen colonies had become too grand and overshadowing to be managed by any others than themselves."—p. 102.

The third section of the book is devoted to the War of the Revolution, and relates tersely and clearly the events of the seven years, giving the history of each year separately. The fourth treats of the development of the States into a power under the administrations of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. With Madison commences the fifth period, that of the war with England. The sixth shows the extension of the national territory from the presidency of Monroe to that of Tyler, terminating with the annexation of Texas, the proceeding which formed the germ of our recent national convulsion. The first result was the war with Mexico, under Polk, which forms the seventh period of this history. Out of the acquisition of territory, which was the result of this war, grew the agitation of the slavery question, which distracted the country during the eighth period, extending through the administration of Buchanan. Thence the bitter feeling which culminated in the civil war. Of this war the ninth division of the book gives a full and graphic account. The concluding division treats of events subsequent to the civil war, bringing the history of the United States down to the present days.

The judicious distribution and combination of the principal events

in our history into separate periods, and the lucid manner in which those events are set forth, and the bearing of each indicated, will render this work valuable not only as a school-book, but also as a family book of reference. For the teacher's purposes it is well adapted by the system of questions accompanying each chapter, also review questions, and maps illustrating the topography of the country at the various stages of its history, as well as our principal battle-fields. In short, the whole plan is calculated to facilitate and render agreeable the study of history on the principle recommended by the author himself :

"Read history as you would a newspaper, and for the same purpose—namely, to get the information it contains. Do not attempt simply to memorize the language of the writer, ignoring the general knowledge conveyed. Read thoughtfully and understandingly, and you will soon acquire a taste for the most pleasant of studies."—p. 6.

The illustrations form an important and novel feature, being particularly calculated to indicate the development of the country during the first century of its existence. We see here the different colonies as they existed in the time of the royal grants, extensive, and thinly peopled; New York embracing the present State of Vermont, Georgia including within its territory the States of Alabama and Mississippi, and Virginia overspreading the entire region between the Mississippi and the Ohio. Then we see the new States gradually carved out of this region, the new territory added to our boundaries, and the first States formed out of these, until we arrive at the latest, the State of Colorado. Other illustrations represent the development of the country in the scientific and useful arts. This element in a book of instruction for the young is not to be disregarded. There is no faculty by which the mind of the youthful student is more effectually reached than sight, and a lesson taught in a picture will often, not only make an enduring impression on the memory, but facilitate the retention of what is imparted through the ordinary media of instruction.

The Satires of A. PERSIUS FLACCUS. Edited by BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Ph. D. (Göttingen), LL. D. 16mo, pp. 231. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

THE classical reader, whose object is mere literary diversion, will derive little satisfaction from the perusal of Persius's satires; the obscurity and inelegance of the style, the harshness of the versification, and the familiar slang of the diction, are calculated to repel him from the task of extracting the gold which he may find, in a literary point of view, insufficient to remunerate his labors. In another respect, however, the Satires are worth studying, for few writers have given so vivid and truthful a picture of the daily life

of the ancient Romans. What Persius saw he photographed, and his descriptions, though not clothed in the elegant banter of Horace, or the fervid eloquence of Juvenal, are, perhaps, for that very reason, better calculated to place before us the society, the vices, and the peculiarities of a by-gone day.

The editor has done his best to remove the difficulties which attend the study of this author by rather "copious" explanatory notes—"notes" which amount almost to a translation into English of the original text. It would have been more satisfactory, however, had he retained in the text the distribution of the dialogue whose absence renders some of the Satires not a little puzzling.

It is certain that Persius was one of the most popular satirists of his day. All the contemporary writers extol him to the skies, while, by the early Christian fathers, who set more value on pure morals than pure Latinity, he was elevated to such a pedestal, that it is not strange if, in the subsequent reaction, he should have received less than justice. Nisard disposes of him with the sneering question, "*Y a-t'-il profit à lire Perse?*" and Scaliger with the terse remarks, "*Non pulchra habet sed in eum pulchemina possumus scribere,*" and "*Au Perse de Casaubon la saulce vaut mieux que le poisson.*" Still, an author, who has so thoroughly illustrated the character of his age, is not to be so lightly set aside, and the editor would be entitled to our thanks if he succeeded in rendering Persius less distasteful to the general student, and less difficult of comprehension. Perhaps we ought to be satisfied on this point, since Prof. Gildersleeve presents us *Göttingen* in a parenthesis between his "Ph. D." and "LL. D." We are not, however, but rather are reminded, by the circumstance, of a line in Persius, which we beg leave to transcribe here as not an unsuitable motto for the new text-book:

"Quis expedivit *psittaco* suum *chaire*."*

English into French; a Book of Practice in French Conversation, being designed to accompany any speaking French Grammar. By FRANCIS S. WILLIAMS, A. M. 16mo, pp. 122. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1875.

WERE we to take the first three words of the above title by themselves, we should have a pretty accurate idea of its real character. It is literally *English into French*, that is, an exact translation of a variety of English sentences into corresponding French words, retaining the English idiom and the uniform English construction. For instance, "I have not been well all this week" is rendered "Je *n'ai pas été* très bien toute cette semaine" (p. 47). "I met him not long ago" is "Je l'ai rencontré il n'y a pas long temps" (*ib.*). "He has not been more than

* Prol. 8.

eight days ill" becomes "Il n'a pas été plus de huit jours malade" (p. 61). A party are conversing on the subject of an eclipse, and one of them inquires, "Visible à Boston ?"

Now we will not waste time in discussing whether or not these expressions are strictly grammatical, for a work which professes to teach the accomplishment of French conversation is expected to do something more than avoid solecisms. But there is one fact of which we can assure Mr. Williams, namely, that the above phrases, and a large number of others which he puts into the mouths of his conversationalists, are not used in French conversation. This latter accomplishment, it may be suggested, consists of something more than a mere translating of words from one language into another, which can be as effectively done by the simple aid of a dictionary containing the usual idioms. It is the expression or rather the interchange of ideas in choice language, elegant *nuances* or shades of expression for which the French is distinguished above all other tongues, and, beyond all, such a construction of familiar phrases as is usually found among well-bred and well-educated French people. Let an American, visiting Paris, put the question "Visible à Boston ?" or answer an interrogatory with the words "Non, ma parole" (p. 61), and, however energetically he might justify his expressions by the authority of French conversation books, or the rules of French grammar, he may rest assured of never for a moment being mistaken for a Frenchman or even for a French scholar.

A Frenchman endeavoring to learn English by the aid of this book would not fare much better, at least if his object were to acquire the habit of conversation in respectable English. For example, the proverb "le jeu *n'en* (*sic*) vout pas la chandelle," is translated "it don't pay," an expression which is not even English, to say nothing of its slangy character. In fact, this book, like most of its kind, intended to impart facility in French conversation without the aid of a teacher, is a delusion and a snare, and is only worthy of notice as a specimen of the too common tendency at the present day to condense into the space of a few lessons that which is in itself the work of years, and to sacrifice finish and accuracy to a foolish desire for mere expedition.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE, GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

1. *Twentieth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Part II. Life and Accident Insurance.* Boston, 1875.
2. *Reports of Various Suits against Certain Insurance Companies.*
3. *Foreclosure Suits against Mortgagers by Insurance Companies.*

As the defective memory of the public is, unfortunately, but too well known, it may be necessary for us to repeat once more that no criticism we have ever made was intended to call into question the utility of life insurance. None have had more faith in its influence and fruits than we; nor has that faith undergone any change. Those who think that we are opposed to life insurance because we have criticised some life companies, may just as logically regard us as opposed to books because we have criticised a certain class of books; or regard us as opposed to education, and in favor of ignorance, because we have criticised certain educational institutions. For every one book we have commended we have criticised at least a dozen as more or less defective, declaring many to be utterly worthless, and condemning not a few as pernicious. And the number of educational institutions which we have criticised are equally large in proportion to those we have commended. Yet who will say that we dislike books, or education? We think we may claim, without affectation, that no one sets a higher value on either than we. It is only the bad books, and bad schools and colleges, that we oppose; and our feeling in regard to insurance companies, especially the life companies, is one of good-will or ill-will, on precisely similar grounds.

Not only have we no inclination to oppose companies which we believe fair-minded, just, and honorable; it affords us sincere pleasure to find that such are rewarded with public confidence and prosperity. Nay, more; there is nothing in our power which we would not do in a legitimate way to contribute to that prosperity, because we feel that in doing so we have a hand in the dispensation of justice, and in the illustration of the good, old precept, that "honesty is the best policy." In proof that this is no new feeling on our part, we can refer the reader to any article we have ever written or published on the subject. Those who take the trouble to examine will find that, in not a single instance, in the period of twelve or fourteen years during which we have been discussing the subject in these pages, have we failed to present to our readers the bright side of the picture; or to show that, however reprehensible the conduct of certain companies may have been, there are other companies that fully vindicate the highest claims ever made in favor of life insurance by those capable of impartially estimating the amount of good it has done, and is constantly doing.

It is in pursuance of this course that we now turn our attention to the records of companies like the Manhattan Life, the New England Mutual Life, the Mutual Benefit Life, etc. Thus, from an abstract of the official reports of the Manhattan since its inauguration, now before us, we are pleased to extract the figures for the last six or seven years, as showing how steady the progress of that company has been, even during the great business panic :

Year.	No. Pol. Iss'd.	Amount Insured.	Receipts.	Dividend Declared.	Losses Paid.	Assets.
1868.....	3,601	12,090,244	2,265,340 29	223,235 00	481,835 00	5,367,537 59
1869.....	2,532	7,869,818	2,330,067 22	274,534 00	451,492 68	6,294,529 46
1870.....	2,001	5,332,246	2,276,171 71	431,371 00	530,013 57	6,924,116 39
1871.....	1,844	4,901,469	2,336,539 43	410,947 00	476,606 42	7,695,701 75
1872.....	1,701	4,986,969	2,390,252 68	377,153 00	573,011 31	8,341,154 92
1873.....	1,746	5,374,713	2,128,071 05	358,845 00	679,187 16	8,923,852 29
1874.....	1,778	5,290,360	2,115,702 15	341,673 00	594,234 00	9,588,149 63

This tells its own story; and it is one that is well fortified by the fact that, in the last Report of the superintendent of the New York Insurance Department, the surplus of the Manhattan amounts to nearly two millions ($1,930,000.00). But, in order to appreciate this, it is necessary to compare it with the surplus of some company that makes much higher pretensions than the Manhattan. Take the Equitable, for instance. The latter company proclaims that its assets are over $25,000,000; the former claims less than one-half that amount; yet, if the curious reader will turn to the Massachusetts Report, Table A, p. xviii, he will find that the surplus of the Equitable, with all its boasting, is considerably less than half the above amount of the Manhattan namely, $728,421. Moreover, he will only have to turn to the next col umn in order to see that the surplus claimed by the Equitable for la year is but little more than half that claimed by the same company f the preceding year—a fact which would show that, after all, the mc gage foreclosure business (by some called "the Equitable pawn-of department") has not proved quite as profitable as might be suppo

Turning to the same Report, we find that the surplus of the New land Mutual is very nearly equal to that of all the other Massachu companies put together, namely, $1,368,376, which is also nearly the surplus of the Equitable. But let us view the results accomp by the New England Mutual in another light. From its last to the directors we extract the following:

"The result of the business of the year is *an increase to the funds* of $1,474,-120.89, after allowing, for claims not due, $102,200. The market value of the securities, on the first of January, 1875, was $219,771.56 more than the cost upon the company's books. This item is not used in the computation for surplus, and is valuable only as showing that the standard of the company's investments has been rigidly adhered to. The amount of *premium returned* in 1874 was $506,-835.33, *an increase* of $37,214.19 *over the amount returned in the preceding year.*"

There is nothing suggestive of panic in this. No impartial, intelligent person, who examines the statistical tables in the Reports of the insurance departments of the States of New York and Massachusetts, marking the record which it bears in each, will be disposed to question the truth of what we mark in italics in the following:

"In conclusion, the Directors submit that the operations of this company during a period of thirty-one years *have resulted in material good to the community*, by the fact of 52,000 persons having been insured to the amount of $143,000,000, and the payment in death-claims and endowments of more than $9,000,000. Its members have had returned to them more than $6,000,000 in surplus, the whole forming a record which, it is believed, is a guarantee of continued prosperity."

The Mutual Benefit is an institution of which New Jersey may well be proud. In the Massachusetts Report it stands higher than the company which boasts of surpassing all other companies in the world, namely, the Mutual Life, of which the very pious and very honest Winston is President. Thus, the latter company claims to have assets amounting to $70,000,000, whereas, the former estimates its assets at less than half that sum ($30,533,429.94). But, turning to the Massachusetts Report, we find that the surplus of the Mutual Benefit is considerably more than that of the Mutual Life, the difference between $3,758,676 and $3,455,667. Those who remember how expert Winston is at multiplication will be likely to think that the latter is rather a small sum to represent $70,000,000 "cash."

The surplus of the New York Continental is considerably larger, in proportion, than that of the Mutual Life. Thus, the former estimates its assets at only a little more than six and a half millions ($6,555,828), and its surplus appears in the Massachusetts Report as $370,625. If the respective ages of the two companies be taken into account, and those of their respective policy-holders in connection with certain other data, it will be found, by any one capable of examining the facts, that the Continental Life has really a more ample surplus than the Mutual Life.

The American Life, of Philadelphia, continues to maintain its high reputation for integrity and fair dealing. Its asset pile of four millions seems to afford ample guarantee for all just claims on its exchequer, and we have yet to learn that the widow or the orphan has ever had any real cause of complaint against its management.

Of all the western or southwestern companies, the St. Louis Life is undoubtedly that which combines most of the best characteristics of

an insurance institution. Moreover, the fact is so generally recognized throughout the southwest that the company can afford to be comparatively indifferent to the business extending beyond its own broad domain. Its paid-up capital of a million, its seven and a half million of assets, and its management, at once skilful, shrewd, and straightforward, render it abundantly satisfactory to all who know it.

We have before us another lofty assurance of "Reform in life insurance." The head and front of the great thing, which is to revolutionize life insurance in America, is Mr. Sheppard Homans, formerly actuary of the Mutual Life, and the *alter ego* of the well-known, very pious, and very upright president of that imposing corporation. Great people sometimes quarrel; and the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, for the possession of the beautiful Briseis, was a mere tempest in a teapot compared to that between Winston and Homans. The latter was worsted in the fight, but, fortunately, not slain; he was merely unseated by his charger, and thrown violently into the Mutual cesspool, the odor of which, it is said, still clings to him. But reformers in general have to pass through severe ordeals.

Whether this will justify the conclusion that the new "Reform in life assurance" will prove a real or spurious reform, may, perhaps, be regarded as an open question. For our own part, we confess we have no faith in it; moreover, we think that the day will come—a day not far distant—when our readers will have as little faith in it as we have at this moment. It is true that, although we pretend to have some idea of the properties of figures, and to have given some attention to Kepler as well as to Laplace on the theory of probabilities, we do not claim to have more than a moderate knowledge of the sort of addition and multiplication which seems to be the sheet-anchor of Mr. Homans in his great "Reform." We are never ashamed to admit that there are a great many things of which we are ignorant. Perhaps, that under consideration is one of those things. For the satisfaction of those who may doubt the fact, we subjoin an extract from a well-considered article on the same subject, which we find in the American Exchange and Review for September:

"The new project is thus shown as a payment for a single year, impinged on a whole life hazard, without the acquisitions of compound interest. It simply takes the chance of annual death—does not provide for a $1,000 certain payment. The policy-holder, after paying 25 years, finds, when 60 years old, that he has contributed but $31.83 toward his $1,000, after taking the risk of the office not being able to come up to its tabular promise. The plan indifferent, not afraid immediately after the first year, grows desperate toward the last. The cost of contingencies grows fearfully in the progress of the policy-holder toward old age. Impending death and impending disaster compete as to which shall get ahead of the other, and the non-reserve premium, now far greater than the uniform rate, makes the *insurance* cost more the less it is worth, and the policy-holder is driven from his position. In the paper in which the plan is submitted, there is the usual stuff about the

exactions and costliness of legitimate life insurance. It would, indeed, be marvellous if there were not some ground for criticism and condemnation in respect to these. Life insurance is not perfect, and never will be. Why it is not better than it is, is a question for those to answer *who have aided to make it what it is.* But, after all is said, it has, in a general sense, done the work it agreed to do. It has fulfilled its contract, and it has fulfilled it in conformity to the highest and best legal interpretation, that the life policy is not a contract of mere indemnity —in fact, not a contract of indemnity at all."

Now, leaving the reader to form his own opinion of the "new plan," we proceed to glance at the *modus operandi* of some companies, not unknown to fame of a certain order.

We commence with that wonderful institution known as the American Popular Life. About this company we have felt some real curiosity. Its announcements hold forth its system as the latest wonder of the world. It is working a great revolution—"not merely reform"—its system is "founded upon the bed-flock of immutable law," while all others are "based upon the shifting sands of capricious and unreliable assumptions." It "stands alone, and takes pride in its isolation." It is "the only Life Insurance Company in the world" that has done a great variety of things which "it does not esteem any reproach;" it boasts of its "hard-pan method" in a manner which would suggest extensive familiarity with the dialect of the mining districts. At a future day we may think it worth while to examine a little into this wonderful system, which is supposed to have made this company a "prophet's gourd of magic growth;" and if, as in the case of the gourd, we should happen to find a worm at the root, why it will not be the first instance in which flaming and boastful proclamations have been used to astound the public. At present, however, we will content ourselves with investigating the results, as shown by its last annual statement to the superintendent of the Insurance Department. Its assets are returned as $686,172.18; its liabilities as $488,021.00; its surplus as $198,151.18. Among these assets we find "loans on stock collaterals," which collaterals consist of mortgages in the far West, and stock which, at the market value as stated, is worth but a small amount in excess of the sums loaned; "cash in office of company;" "cash deposited in banks and trust companies," which is, of course, entirely under the control of the company, and, if actually a deposit at the time of report, may easily disappear the next day; "accrued interest and rents;" "premium notes and loans, *in any form*, on interest taken for premiums;" "deferred and unpaid premiums." In other words, a series of uncollected and, for aught we know, uncollectable, debts. Now, let us see, on the company's own showing, to what sum this class of assets amounts. We quote directly from the report:

"Loans on stock collaterals	$26,513.03
Premium notes and loans	112,361.17
Cash in office and bank	118,328.14
Deferred and unpaid premiums	126,637.07
Accrued interest and rents	17,755.27
Which, taken together, amount to	$401,594.68"

This, when deducted from $688,172.18, which it claims as its total gross assets, leaves a balance of $284,577.50 against $488,021.00 of liabilities. In other words, were it not for what may justly be styled "fancy assets," the American Popular Life, instead of a surplus, would show an impairment of its capital to the amount of at least $203,443.50. It is to be wished that, in this respect, the Popular Life did "stand alone," although it would have little reason to "take pride in its isolation."

But, unhappily, there are many companies which are to be found in the same category. The Brooklyn Life estimates its assets by millions, but, its liabilities being also extensive, the surplus which it professes to have for its policy-holders is not quite so large as that of the American Popular, being stated as $190,531.04. Now, this company has in "premium notes and loans" $449,431.77, "deferred and unpaid premiums" $61,862.74, and "accrued (and, of course, unpaid) interest" $53,719.86, making, altogether, $565,014.37. Why, the first item alone of these "fancy assets" is more than enough to extinguish the nominal surplus, and the total, if deducted from the gross assets, would leave a deficiency of $374,483.33. The Brooklyn Life is by no means so moderate in its figures when not compelled to verify its statements. We have before us a statement purporting to be from its balance-sheet of December 31, 1874, but intended to be published in an insurance journal, and not to be sent to the superintendent. In this it coolly adds two items, viz., "premiums unpaid and in course of transmission," $14,769.93, and "ledger balances," $14,904.00, making its gross assets $29,673.93 more than are returned in the Report, and representing its surplus as $216,082.80, or $15,551.76 more than it was there stated; adding the information that, out of this surplus, a dividend is to be declared to the holders of participating policies. Does not this look very like "robbing Peter to pay Paul?"

Of the assets of the Knickerbocker Life, the amount represented by "premium notes and loans *in any form* on interest taken for premiums" is $3,001,427.83 (!), an amount abundantly sufficient to swamp the comparatively insignificant surplus of $207,899.87. But Old Knick has plenty more assets of the same kind under its new plan. "Deferred and unpaid premiums," $345,288.26; "accrued interest and rents," $247,277.17. What remains, after deducting these fancy assets, but a capital impaired to the extent of $3,386,093.39 (!).

The Metropolitan Life—whose surplus, as returned by itself, is $207,899.87—to obtain that result, had to count among its assets "deferred and unpaid premiums," $403,739.27, and "premium notes and loans," $461,177.13. Either of these items will suffice to swallow up the surplus, but, when united, they amount to an impairment of $656,016.51.

The important fact to be kept in mind is that the class of investments, which are returned as assets by certain companies, are in many instances no assets at all—mere uncollected debts, which may, or may not, be collectable, but represent no available funds immediately applicable to the claims of the policy-holders. As to the item "cash in bank," it is the least reliable of all. Such large amounts of uninvested cash look in themselves suspicious—cash is so easily borrowed for a few days, and deposited perhaps in the bank whence it is borrowed, to make up a large gross amount and enable the company to return an encouraging surplus. Were these questionable items expunged from their list of assets, the above companies, and many others, would stand before the world with an impaired capital instead of a nominal surplus. Yet they declare dividend after dividend, and will probably continue so to do until—but we leave the reader to finish the sentence.

We see that the three most plethoric companies in this city are, as usual, busy with the mortgage foreclosures which they appear to find so profitable. The Mutual Life has, since May 1st, instituted foreclosure suits on property on Ninth Street, on Fourteenth Street, on Eighty-eighth Street, and on Bleecker Street. The Equitable Life is at work on Thirty-seventh, Thirty-fifth, and Twenty-fifth Streets; and the New York Life on Sixtieth Street, One Hundred and Twenty-seventh, and One Hundred and Fourteenth Streets. On this last street are situated the long rows of houses on which the New York Life has mortgages of $6,000 each, and some of which, at least, have failed to bring ten thousand dollars on the foreclosure sale. These companies have chosen their time well so as to secure possession of the houses at a price considerably beneath their value; but we must be allowed a word of commiseration for the unfortunate second mortgagees who have invested their funds on the assurance that the companies never loaned money on property less than twice—in some instances three times—the value of the amount invested, and who now have the pleasant prospect of seeing their property sold over their heads, and their security reduced to the personal liability of a perhaps insolvent bondsman.

The summer months, being the period of vacation, afford the companies but few opportunities of figuring, as usual, in the courts. Among those who have continued to provide us with interesting questions in litigation, the American Popular takes a distinguished place. This company, in a policy issued to one Campbell, who was

supposed to be not altogether temperate in his habits, inserted a clause that the insurance should be paid only on condition that, in the opinion of the "surgeon-in-chief" of the company, the party assured did not die from intemperance, nor from any disease produced or aggravated thereby. It appears that the surgeon-in-chief was a stockholder in the company, and, therefore, had a decided interest in deciding adversely to any claimant, which fact was, however, carefully concealed from the assured. Of course, that learned functionary refused to express an opinion that the assured did not die of intemperance. However, the court held that the concealment of his interest by the company vitiated the condition, so the latter, in this instance, will fail to profit by its reticence. Will it hereafter include its peculiar ingenuity at condition-making among the numerous facts which, in its published circular, entitled "The Ideas of the American Popular upon Life Insurance," it proclaims that "it does not consider a reproach?"

The case of Garber against the Globe Mutual Life presents a curious instance of the promptness with which some life companies accept premiums as contrasted with their indisposition to pay losses. In this case the assured, a resident of St. Louis, had taken out a policy for $5,000 in favor of his wife. The policy provided that the assured should not reside south of the 33d degree of latitude, between the first of July and the first of November, and that the non-payment of the premium, when due, should effect a forfeiture of the policy. It appears to have been the custom of the company's agent at St. Louis, to allow thirty days for the payment of the premium after it had become due, and Mr. Garber had himself been allowed that time for the payment of some of the premiums on this policy. Some time before his death, he went to reside in New Orleans, which was beyond the prohibited limit, but the agent had notice of the fact, for, in July, 1872, he sent thither, for collection, a note given by Mr. Garber, December 14, 1871, for the premium due November 1, 1871. On the 1st of November, 1872, the agent directed to Mr. Garber, at New Orleans, a notice that his premium was due. Mr. Garber was at that time ill with the yellow fever. His wife telegraphed to a friend at St. Louis to pay the premium, and, on the eleventh of November, it was paid, and a renewal receipt issued. The assured died later in the same day. The company, it seems, defend the claim on the policy, on the ground that the assured resided within the prohibited district, and that the payment of the premium was not made on the day, notwithstanding the agent's waiver of both conditions, by receiving the premium and renewing the policy, with full knowledge of the assured's residence in New Orleans, and by habitually holding receipts for thirty days, and accepting the premium within or even after that time. We have not been apprised of the result of this litigation. We can scarcely doubt, however, that, after

so distinct a waiver of both of its conditions, the company will be held to the fulfilment of its policy.

We will now take up some of the fire companies' reports, and see how they compare with those of the life companies. Here we have the Adriatic returning a surplus of $21,217.27; but, when we come to examine its assets, we find that $22,032.41, a sum exceeding this alleged surplus, consists of "premiums in course of collection," or as Superintendent Chapman's statistical tables bluntly state it, "premiums unpaid"—and that $5,280.86 is "interest due and accrued." If we deduct these items—amounting together to $27,313.27—from the aggregate amount of assets reported, $303,397.42, we reduce them to $276,084.15, over six thousand dollars less than its liabilities, which, on its own showing, are $282,-180.15. On looking over its list of stock collaterals, by the way, we cannot but remark the very small margin of security too often left: $1,000.00 loaned on stock whose market value is $1,112.00; $2,000.00 on stock valued at $2,500.00, etc., etc.

The Arctic returns a surplus of $12,065.61; but the portion of its assets which consists of uncollected debts, such as "premiums in course of collection," "salvage on losses already paid," "rents due and accrued," "due for re-insurances," amounts in the aggregate to $15,-577.20, or over $3,500.00 in excess of its surplus, so that, without the aid of these items, its assets would fall short of its liabilities by that amount, just as its income last year fell short of its expenses. We have already called attention to the fact that the expenditures of this company, in the year 1874, exceeded its income in the handsome sum of $14,863.76, which, however, did not prevent its declaring the usual semi-annual dividend.

The Brewers and Maltsters Fire, which has recently been extensively eulogised in the insurance journals as "a wonderful instance of success in fire-underwriting," has, on its own showing, a surplus of only $1,455.90 out of an aggregate of gross assets returned at $271,632.05; but, when we find that, of these assets, $40,639.92 consists of unpaid premiums, $26,963.98 of "bills receivable, not matured," and $15,000.00 of "salvage on losses already paid," we rather feel anxious about this wonderful young company. Take out these three items of "possible future assets," as they might with propriety be called, and we are confronted with an impairment of $82,603.90, in which the poor little offset of $1,455.90 is swallowed up as in a vast abyss.

The surplus returned by the Gebhard is $2,477.23. Why, its unpaid premiums amount to $2,868.69, and its "rents due and accrued" to $3,558.84. Deduct these items from its so-called "available assets," and there remains a deficiency of $3,950.30. The Irving, in like manner, whose surplus is returned as $14,860.16, has, in "premiums in course of collection," $14,961.92. This item alone extinguishes the

so-called surplus. So, also, the Relief, which has, in "interest due and accrued," $4,500.00, "premiums in course of collection," $15,358.07, and "bills receivable," $750.00; so that its uncollected debts aggregate $20,608.07, while its nominal surplus is only $15,163.34; of course, this is equivalent to an impairment to the extent of $5,444.73.

The Home Fire presents an imposing figure in a suit by one Kelly in the State of Kansas. It appears that its policy contained a clause that, if the premises should become vacant or unoccupied, and so remain, with the knowledge of the assured, without notice to and consent of the company in writing, the policy should be void. At the time of the fire the insured premises had been vacant thirty-three days, but the proprietor was endeavoring to let them. The company claimed that this constituted a violation of the policy; but it was promptly overruled by the court, which decided that the clause applied only to cases of abandonment, or a vacation for an unreasonable length of time, and not to a mere temporary vacancy, such as might occur while one tenant was moving out and another moving in.

A still more extraordinary excuse for refusing to pay a loss on insured property, it seems, has been set up by the Columbia Fire, in an action brought by the firm of Cheek & Co., in the State of Tennessee. The ground was that, in their application, the assured had represented themselves to be the owners of the property insured, that no other party was interested therein, and that it was not leased or rented. It appeared that some years previously the insured property had been sold for taxes, and seized by the purchaser under such tax sale. This sale had been declared void, and Cheek and the company entitled to the possession, although, during the ejectment suit which they were obliged to bring, the property was temporarily placed in the hands of a receiver, who rented it to Cheek & Co. themselves, until the determination of the action. The curious part is, that Cheek & Co., not exactly understanding how, under these circumstances, they ought to answer the interrogatories to the application, made a full statement of the facts to the agent of the company, who filled in the answers himself, with full knowledge of the facts. We are glad to see that, in this case, the defence was unsuccessful, the court holding that a mere pretended title in another did not affect the truth of the applicant's answer, and that the application having been made out by the company's agent, with full knowledge of the fact, his failing to assert them did not nullify the policy.

To appreciate the audacity of this defence, it should be remembered that these applications and answers are not intended to be submitted to the company before issuing the policy, but that the agent himself delivers the policy if satisfied with the answers to the application. So that, in instances of this character, nobody can possibly be misled. We

should think that the term "Cheek" was, in this instance, more justly applicable to the company than to the insured party whom it denoted.

We might continue to multiply these instances, but enough have been given to show that, in many companies—fire as well as life—were it not for their practice of returning uncollected debts, loose cash, and doubtful securities, as so many available assets, their returns would show an impaired capital instead of a nominal surplus. Let those, who remember the ruin wrought among the fire companies by the conflagrations in Chicago and Boston, lay these facts to heart, and, before accepting the returns of any company as evidence of its solvency, look warily into the composition of its assets, and trust those only whose substantial investments (those of whose genuineness there can be no question) return a decided surplus above their full list of liabilities.

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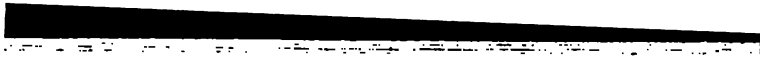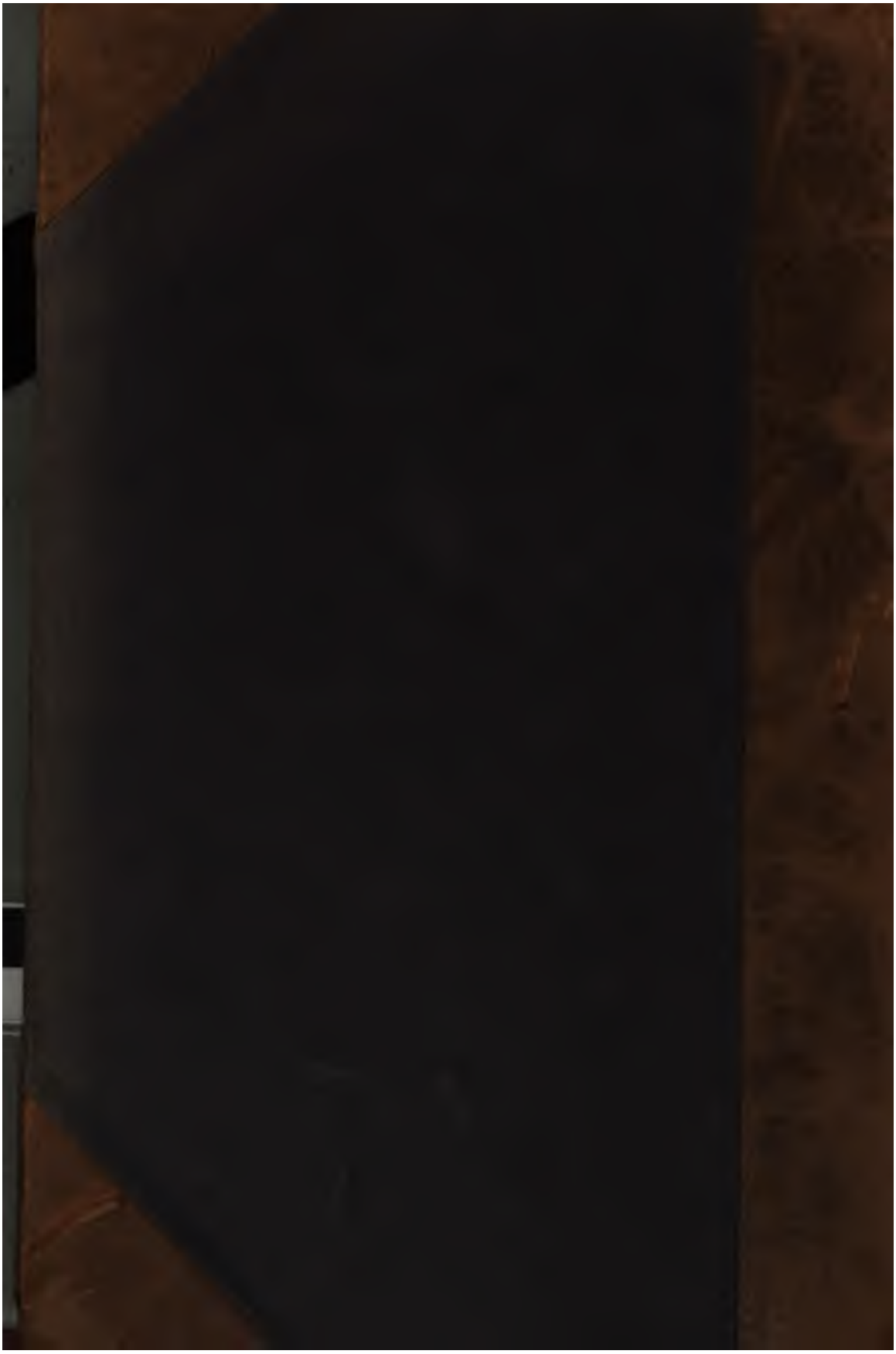
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